War and Social Change: A study of a Scottish Burgh, 1910-1922.

Thesis

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WAR AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A Study of a Scottish Burgh 1910-1922

by

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SUMMARY

WAR and SOCIAL CHANGE: A Study of a Scottish Burgh 1910-1922 by A.W. Harding.

Wars seem to be endemic, but their effects are difficult to measure. Do wars have a positive side? Or are they purely negative? A great deal has been written since 1965 in an attempt to answer this question.

This thesis analyses the impact of World War One on the city of Perth by examining social conditions pre-war with those that appeared post-war and endeavouring to establish links.

The introduction reviews the extensive literature and identifies the main areas of controversy, assesses the contribution of Arthur Marwick to the ongoing discussion, tries to define the concepts of total war and social change and lists the contribution of several participants.

The pre-war evidence shows that Perth, although it still had a strangely rural, almost Victorian flavour, was a city in transition and that many aspects, usually taken as modern - the motor car and the cinema - were already influencing life. Then the next five chapters are devoted to the progress of the war, year by year, as far as the civilian population was concerned. Each year, of course, producing its own mood ranging from crusading zeal to gloomy despair. As with most cities in the UK, 1917 was to prove the year of crisis. The post-war period, despite the exhaustion, was one of speedy recovery.

The conclusion, based on an enormous volume of confidential police reports, shows a society emerging from a limited rather than a total war, in which all traces of conflict had disappeared within months and which picked up the threads of pre-war life with great composure. The post-war period was dominated by the development of the motor car and the expansion of the cinema. It would seem that the main effect of World War One was psychological.

CONTENTS

Bibliography

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the aid of Steve Connelly, Archivist, Perth Archive Unit, A.K. Bell Library, Perth. He led me through the labyrinth of files and records, many of which had not seen the light of day for over 80 years. His colleagues, in the Local History Library and Lending Library, were equally helpful in tracking down obscure references and articles. My Supervisor, Dr. Henry Cowper, continually deluged me with book lists and academic monographs from both sides of the Atlantic, while leaving me to make my own judgment. To these, and my "old friends" in Perth, I am truly grateful.

Abbreviations

All the abbreviations used in this study are self-evident, but the most commonly used are -

PC	Perth Courier
C	Constitutional
PA	Perthshire Advertiser
TC	Town Council
GA	General Accident
BW	Black Watch
ASC	Army Service Corps
TA	Territorial Army
UF	United Free Church
KIA	Killed in Action
PRI	Perth Royal Infirmary

QUOTE

"I believe that the main features of the War can be more accurately seen and more truly judged by those who lived through it than by a scholar writing after the lapse of half a century."

-- John Buchan

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my father, A.A. Harding, who served with the Black Watch 1915-1918.

1

Introduction

This study is concerned with the impact of World War One on the city of Perth. Using a wide range of local sources it describes how the war affected many aspects of life in the community. It also addresses, at a local level, the debate, which has been pursued by historians since the 1960's, surrounding war and social change. here the essentials of this debate, which focus on how and to what extent, social, political, economic and cultural life is changed by war, are briefly described and assessed in the light of the continuing historical controversy and in the specific context of World War One.

The war itself, as Waites has pointed out, was regarded by some contemporaries as a "watershed", while others spoke of a "turning-point", a "great divide" or even "the start of the modern world." Thousands of communities, all over Europe, were enveloped in "total war." To Waites this implied "a conflict between industrial states utilising the full range of mass production and modern technology" and as such it unleashed nihilistic forces which put paid to any ideas of chilvalry and heroism.(1) J.M. Winter in The Great War and the British People(1985)., described it as "a people's war."(2) Most commentators, however, only stressed the purely negative aspects of World War One - the collapse of three dynasties in bloody revolution and the large parts of Europe which had been devastated. Beckett, for example, calculated that the war had left c.9,000,000 dead, c, 5,000,000 widows and c.5,000,000 orphans, while the cost, which ran into billions, was impossible to estimate.(3) Surely nothing positive could be salvaged from such a cataclysm?

Arthur Marwick thought there could be. After a tentative start with Clifford Allen: The Open Conspirator(1964), in which he suggested that the war had helped to create a more cohesive Labour Party, he published The Deluge: British Society and the First World War(1965), in which he argued that war had a major impact on social change. This soon proved itself to be the classic text for the study of war and social change. Marwick's view was straight-forward and direct: World War One had drastically changed many aspects of human life. His examples

examples were, among others, a more powerful state, higher living standards, reduced infant mortality, wider employment for women and a stronger trade union movement.(4) In Britain in the Century of Total War(1968), he tried to create a framework by which wars could be assessed and his four-tier model laid the parameters for a debate which has lasted more than thirty years - how much destruction and disruption did society suffer?; how well did existing institutions survive?; how far did the under-privileged in society participate in the war?; and what kind of psychological experience did the community have to endure?

Marwick subsequently developed his views further. In War and Social Change in the 20th Century(1974), he talked of dimensions which could be beneficial; in The Home Front: the British and the Second World War(1976), which he saw as a parallel to the 1914-1918 conflict, he described how a war would weaken the class system and foster a sense of insecurity, and in Women at War 1914-1918(1977), his view was that women, in particular, had gained much from the war.(5)

These and other views were restated in a wider study of Total War and Social Change(1988). As to the meaning of social change Marwick defined it as "change taking place in human societies which affect everyday life."(6) Convinced that interaction was the key to the process he identified some ten areas of human activity, which, he argued, were deeply influenced by war viz., population shifts and possible social monility; the cinema and its impact on the community; class attitudes; housing with aspects of drink and health; religious faith; politics; the status of women; trade unions; economic and industrial changes; morality with aspects of crime. Historical debate now focused on Marwick's interpretation of social change in these specific areas. We will now examine briefly how change in these areas has been viewed by others and the implications such interpretations make for this particular study.

The obvious effect of the war on population in the United Kingdom was the enormous loss of life, at least 500,000 young men between the ages of 20 and 34 years, including many from the middle and upper

upper classes. Naturally, this gave rise to the theory of a lost generation of potential leaders, which, in turn, led to poor management in the 1920's and a lack of talent in the 1930's. As early as 1970 Taylor thought that this was overplayed, but both Winter and Turner in Britain and the First World War(1988), subscribed to this view.(7) Havighurst in Britain in Transition in the 20th Century(1979), thought that, overall, the war had had little effect on population, apart from a sex imbalance.(8)

The public hungered for visual stimulation and newsreels attracted a wider range of patrons. This, argued Annette Kuhn in Cinema, Censorship and Sexuality 1909-1925(1988), led to massive investment and improved technology. Before long, the cinema was the new escapism influencing both dress and morals. However, Rachel Low in The History of the British Film 1918-1929(1971), disagreed. In her view the war had had no effect whatever.

It is widely believed that the war had generated greater social homogeneity in Britain and, consequently, class barriers had been lowered. Waites in A Class Society at War: England 1914-1918(1988), believed that the poorest classes were less servile and deferential after the war. Purdue thought the upper classes became less stiff and formal, a view strongly challenged earlier by Andrew Barrow in A History of High Society 1920-1970(1978).(9) While Beckett believed that any homogeneity displayed in the war was only temporary, Thurlow in Fascism in Britain(1987), argued that class differences had actually widened.

Housing, drink and health were closely related in the war in that they reflected the amount of money that society had available to spend. Winter and Mingay in The Transformation of Britain 1830-1939(1986), both believed that the war had given a higher standard of living as well as housing reforms. Richard Rodger in Scottish Housing in the 20th Century(1989), and at least in the Scottish context, disagreed. Drink, with its accompanying absenteeism and effect on war production, was, as Winter noted, impossible to resolve because of vested interests. John Williams in The Home Front: Britain, France and Germany 1914-1918 (1972), argued that the war merely made the problem worse.(10) Only

Only health was a success story. Winter believed that this was due to the fact that more money went on food than drink and that nutrition was better all round and in the opinion of Deborah Dwork this was especially important for infant health.(11)

As far as religion was concerned the war faced all denominations with a moral dilemma and few coped well. The working-classes had long been out of touch with formal religion, but according to Stephen G. Jones in The British Labour Movement and Film 1918-1929(1987), it was the middle-classes who found it hardest to adjust and sabbatarianism withered in the face of the motor car and golf. The strangest aspect, in the opinion of Paul Fussell in The Great War and Modern Memory(1975), was the spread of superstition.(12)

In the political field the most obvious result of the war was the incredible expansion of state power, though this had been growing long before 1914. Although Winter thought this was the outcome of economic controls, Beckett argued that these were only temporary. As for the political parties it was generally held that the quick demise of the Liberals gave the Labour Party a signal to expand. Ross McKibbin in The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-1924(1974), thought that the war had not stimulated demands for democracy or collectivism, although there was less feeling for the Empire, the monarchy and patriotism. Some, like Noreen Branson in Britain in the 1920's(1975), detected a move to the right in the Conservative Party.

The most contentious area of debate concerns the status of women. Many feel that the war gave women sexual freedom, a new assertiveness, confidence and the franchise. However, John Benson in The Working-Class in Britain 1850-1939(1989), considered that working-class women were unaffected, while Martin D. Pugh in History(Oct., 1970) and Sandra S. Holton in Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1918(1986), held that the war actually hindered women's quest for the vote.(13)

Traditionally, trade unions are seen as having done well from the war, with, as Beckett and Havighurst argue, working hours cut and shop stewards' powers increased. Winter in Socialism and the Challenge of War: Ideas and Politics in Britain 1912-1918(1974), thought that the

the war had inspired a greater faith in socialism. On the other hand, Golby thought that any radicalism soon faded, while Waites doubted if there had been much change at all.(14) Some, like John Stevenson in his British Society 1914-1918(1984), suggested that the National Insurance Acts had a greater influence on trade unions than the war.(15)

The impact of the 1914-1918 conflict on the economic and industrial life of the nation is the most difficult issue to judge. As Stevenson and David Butler and Anne Sloman in British Political Facts 1900-1975(1975), have shown, the National Deby soared and sterling floundered. Michael Lynch in Scotland: A New History(1991), blamed the war for the notorious north/south prosperity divide. Yet, both Waites and Winter held to the opinion that the war benefited the poorest in society with the rise in real wages. Golby saw this as a continuation of pre-war trends, while Purdue noted the remarkable recovery in manufacturing and the spin-offs in the fields of motor car, radio valves and electricity.(16)

Morality was also considered a victim of war - family life had disintegrated, there was more delinquency, gambling and bastardy, on which Williams and Winter certainly agreed. W.H. Fraser and R.J. Morris in People and Society in Scotland 1830-1914(1990), believed that the drink problem had lessened, while Dennis Winter in Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War(1979), considered that immorality had been exaggerated and Stevenson felt that levels of crime had scarcely altered.

Marwick took account of these interpretations and in his later works refined his arguments.(17) Briefly, these are as follows. He now sees war as a continuum and acknowledges that long-term and immediate effects of a war are indistinguishable. Indeed, he concedes that it is the long-term trends that really raise living standards. Further, he now holds that the psychological effects of war, however hard to assess, are war's greatest legacy. The only way to even estimate such a change would be by analysing pre-1914 society for comparison. Lastly, he admits that there must be regional differences, which provide a springboard for this study.

Perth is an excellent area for an analysis in depth. Centrally located, partly highland and partly lowland, it is neither entirely

entirely rural nor heavily industrialised and it had a manageable population of just under 40,000 by the 1920's. Besides these advantages, it had three newspapers, each with a different political outlook, and it was a garrison town, indeed, home-depot for the Black Watch. In many ways it was rather like its sister-city and rival gateway to the highlands, Stirling. Most important of all, the local library has a fine Archive Unit with thousands of documents, many of which are examined here for the first time. The secondary sources number 684, many of which are long-forgotten, contemporary accounts, which may not be currently fashionable, but best convey the emotions of the period.

Of course, there have been previous studies on the effect of the war on specific communities. Sadly, they are but a handful, notably A.O.T. Clarke, Croydon and the War(1920), C.T. Perfect, Hornchurch during the Great War(1920), G.F. Stone and C. Wells, Bristol and the Great War 1914-1918(1920), R.H. Brazier and F. Sandford, Birmingham and the Great War(1921), and W.D. Bavin, Swindon's War Record(1922). (18) However, they are mainly anecdotal rather than analytical. Neither do they probe sufficiently into the underlying social problems that emerged during the war nor do they compare pre and post-war periods to establish the impact of the war on their respective communities.

As for the structure of this particular study, it is strongly felt, quoting Winter, "that the impact of War can only be measured against the background of pre-war events." The chronological framework therefore is 1910-1922. Apart from the obvious symmetry of four years of pre-war peace, then four years of war and then four years of post-war peace, the advantages are clear: the former date because of the death of Edward VII, the decline of the Liberal Party, the emergence of a popular cinema industry and a new interest in housing and planning; the latter date because it marked the end of post-war reconstruction and optimism, rampant inflation, the end of the Coalition and the years of crisis.

Footnotes

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2. Winter, J.M.(1985), The Great War and the British People, London, p. 74

3. Beckett, Ian F.W.(1974), "Total War", History; Stevenson, John (1984), British Society 1914-1945, London, p. 105

4. Marwick, Arthur(1965), The Deluge: British Society and the First World War, London, pp. 282, 124-125, 303, 278

5. Marwick, Arthur(1974), War and Social Change in the 20th Century London, p. 2; (1976) The Home Front: the British and the Second World War, London, p. 20; (1977) Women at War 1914-1918, London, p. 157

6. Marwick, Arthur et al(1990), Europe on the Eve of War 1900-1914, Buckingham, pp. 12-13

7. Taylor, A.J.P.(1970), English History 1914-1945, London, p. 120; Winter, J.M., p. 81; Turner, John(1988), Britain in the First World War, London, p. 105

8. Havighurst, A.F.(1979), Britain in Transition in the 20th Century, Chicago, pp. 131, 140

9. Waites, Bernard in J.M. Winter,The Great War and the British People, 1985, London, p. 283; Purdue, Bill in Henry Cowper et al (1990), World War 1 and its Consequences, Buckingham, p. 74; Barrow, Andrew(1978), A History of High Society 1920-1970, London, p. 1

10. Williams, John(1972), The Home Front: Britain, France and Germany, London, p. 62

11. Winter, J.M., pp. 2, 103, 138; Dwork, Deborah(1987), War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children, London, p. 211

12. Fussell, Paul(1975), The Great War and Modern Memory, London, p. 119

13. Holton, Sandra S.(1986), Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1918, Cambridge, p.101

14. Golby, John(1990), Between Two Wars, Buckingham

15. Stevenson, John, p. 195

16. Golby, John, p. 13; Purdue, Bill, p. 71

17. Marwick, Arthur(1991) The Deluge: British Society and the First World War, London, 2nd edition, pp. 11-44

18. Clarke, A.O.T.(1920), Croydon and the War, Croydon; Perfect, C.T.(1920), Hornchurch during the Great War, Colchester; Stone, G.F. and C. Wells(1920), Bristol and the Great War 1914-1918, Bristol; Brazier, R.H. and F. Sandford(1921), Birmingham and the Great War, Birmingham; Bavin, W.D.(1922), Swindon's War Record, Swindon.

1910-1914

Technically, Perth was nothing more than a Royal Burgh, but, because of its central place in Scottish history it has long been described as a city. Not that it was ever large in terms of population or area. Indeed, in 1910, with a population hovering over the 36,000 mark it was at its highest figure ever. This was due to the transfer, in May, 1909, of parts of Burghmuir, Tulloch, Friarton and Scone to make some 3,139 acres. There was always a measure of fluctuation in numbers as dyers, who provide the bulk of the working-population, came and went regularly in search of training. The bulk of the population was otherwise static.

So, at first glance, seemed the city itself, hemmed in on the banks of the Tay and bounded to the north and south by wide open spaces called Inches. There was an almost rural quality about Perth in 1910. Street traders, many of them children, were everywhere hawking their wares, while the pony and trap competed with dog-carts in some of the narrow lanes. There were many horses, either gently-built ponies pulling small vans or massive stallions drawing heavy carts, and, of course, horse-drinking-troughs at every corner. Then there were blacksmiths, like J. Ewart, in the Newrow and carriage-hirers, like J. Masterson, in Mill Street. Sheep and pigs were daily driven through the streets to the "killing-house", while bull and stallion parades were weekly events.(1) Little Dunning Market, a medieval fair, still survived and every October flooded the High Street with stalls, to the noisy delight of gypsy hawkers and packs of dog Poaching was the most common crime and the Town Council's greatest worry was anthrax.(2) But change was coming. Trams trundled through the city pursued by clouds of cyclists and there were even a few motor cars and motor-bikes. Sadly, there were still no ladies' lavatories and ice-cream shops were only just losing their "dens-of-iniquity" image. In stark contrast, the city had the huge North British Dye Works run by the Pullar family, who had dominated Perth, socially and politically, for the last fifty years. No other factory or industry could match their power and wealth and the 2,000 workers seemed secure and content. The result - the city had a placid flavour, more Victorian than even Edwardian.

This was reflected in the inhabitants' pastimes and amusements, as

GOWRIE
COUNTY INN

as ever, based on the river and the Inches. Rowing clubs, some going back to 1892, were maintained by local firms, and regattas, "jolly boat races", were especially popular.(3) Water carnivals were used to highlight national events and angling clubs, with tackle bought from D.B. Crockart in County Place, were widely patronised.(4) Courting couples hired row-boats in the summer evenings from D. Malloch or G. Dutch, while macho stalwarts from the local swimming clubs exhibited their strength in the annual Perth-to-Dundee Swim.(5) After all, a lady had done it in 1906. Cricket was Perth's game and the County Cricket Club had recently done well against the West Indies and were proud of their new Cricket Pavilion.(6) Golf was another speciality with the Artisan Golf Club on the North Inch, the King James VI Golf Club on Moncrieff Island and a new course, Craigie Golf Course, just opened. With Joe Anderson as the local star the city had won fame.(7) Then there were bowling clubs with matches against Ireland, Perth Tennis Club, curling clubs and ice skating at Hillyland.(8) Summers especially were busy with bands and concerts on the North Inch where the Perth Silver Band played popular 1911 melodies - "Loch Lomond Waltz" and the two-step "Yip-i-addy!" while children watched the antics of the pierrots from Aberdeen.(9) Walking matches were a craze revived from previous years - 1862, 1866, 1879 and 1903 - and seven men from Pullars had just walked to Edinburgh for a bet.(10) In fact, the local hero in 1910 was Mark Ali, World Long Distance Walking Champion, who at 81 was still walking 50 miles a day.(11) Running was growing in popularity, hence the Perth Marathon, and cycling too.(12) A good second-hand bike could be bought for 40/- and even a top model, Swift, at £6.10/- could be paid up at 10/- a month. Horse racing on the North Inch had only stopped in 1908 and had moved to Scone and Errol.(13) Menageries were common on the South Inch - Bostock and Wombell's Royal No. 1 which had "Romeo", a £900 lion-tiger hybrid - despite growing opposition to them on principle.(14) Circuses too were popular: E.H. Bostock's International Railroad Circus, John Swallow's International Circus, Sanger's Circus and Fossett's Circus, each stressing a star-attraction like "The Great Scenic Railway and the Great Wobbling Airship."(15)

There were, naturally, specifically working-class amusements, especially football, which had increased in popularity since the formation of the Perthshire Football League in 1884.(16) It could inspire great passions as when St. Johnstone Football Club were criticised, or enormous en-

enthusiasm as when they defeated Leith Athletic 4-3 in 1914.(17) Five-a-side was a popular variation. Gymnastic competitions, wrestling and boxing were all popular with the dye-workers, especially the latter, because of Perth's boxing champion, J.B. McNeil.(18) Pigeon racing and beekeeping were rather specialised, while the allotments of the Working Men's Garden Association on Moncrieff Island attracted the retired working-man. Billiards and dominoes were not considered "respectable" despite the fact that both had leagues and the Carlton Billiards Room in South Street was rather splendid. Vaudeville, which opened in March after the panto season, was very well attended, particularly if they could see "Bosanquet, the Human Violin" or "George 1, the most marvellous ape in the world - he can drive a car and ride a bike!"(19) It was even possible to watch minstrels for 3d and Harry Lauder at the King's Theatre, Dundee, for 1/6d.(20) Farcical comedies in Perth Theatre attracted huge crowds - Fred Karno's Company or Haldane Cricton's Company in "a musical farce."(21) Indoor amusements included "the 1910 craze" - roller-skating.(22) Perth had two rinks, the Perth Roller Skating Rink in the Dunkeld Road, where one could hire Richardson skates and glide across 15,000 square feet of rock-maple for 6d till 10pm; and the Victoria Roller Skating Rink in Victoria Street with a cafe and the Fechney Boys' Band.(23) There were six teams in the Perth District Rink Hockey League and they held many matches throughout the year.(24) On a sunny day there was always a chance of a picnic on Buckie Braes and, if it rained, a visit to Mrs. Jarley's Waxworks in Bridgend Hall for 1/- or Stewart's Waxworks in Scott Street for 2d.(25)

Equally, there were middle-class pastimes of a more cultural tone - organ recitals in St. John's Kirk, amateur theatricals, Perth Musical Society, bazaars, fetes or "the Berlioz Method of learning French." There were "serious plays" at the Theatre, like "The Doll's House" or "Is Marriage a Failure?" or one of the growing number of "realistic plays", "Brought to Ruin!", which were powerful melodramas, or the more sedate "Mikado."(26) There was a Perth Whist Club and "dining out" at the New Royal George Hotel Restaurant had become "fashionable."(27) For the young there were Tango Tea dances with the daring Tango, New Boston or Rag.(28) Most people were content with music at home and there was a wide range of gramophones - the Excello 15/-, the Unique 30/-, the Climax 35/- and the splendid Lord 42/-. The best Homophone Records were 3/- each and all Perth was talking about

26 Tailored costume from *Chic Parisien*, 1911
Anon. lithograph

Note The French *Directoire* revival included elements of both eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century dress, sometimes borrowing features from the male wardrobe. This jacket with its sloped sides is clearly inspired by the male riding coat of the 1790s while the high neck-band and jabot of the blouse recall the man's stock and shirt ruffle of the mid-eighteenth century. Her buckled shoes are also reminiscent of the footwear of that period (though these were actually called 'Cromwell' shoes).

Head By 1911 hats had become extremely large with deep, mushroom-shaped crowns and wide brims; by surmounting an increasingly slim, straight figure they created an almost T-shaped silhouette. Width on the head was also emphasized in the arrangement of the hair which was waved over the ears.

Body Her tailored cloth costume has a short jacket with its high waist accentuated by a belt, and a long, narrow skirt. Since these new, slim skirts did not widen towards the hem they were difficult to walk in and were aptly called 'hobble' skirts.

Accessories She wears long white gloves and holds a long, very tightly furled parasol or umbrella.

about "the Cinch" - "the latest gadget, which at 52/6d, will play anything" (29) A good violin was 17/6d, an organ £12.10/-, a Bard piano £9.10/-, while a Steinway, upright in rosewood, was £70. Those who aspired to a higher social milieu flirted with the county gentry, visited Fine Art Exhibitions, attended Grand Opera, danced at Hunt Balls, usually in Edinburgh. There was, however, one aristocratic sport, which had caught the public's imagination - Aeronautics.(30) The Hon. Charles Rollo helped organise the First Scottish International Aviation Meeting at Lanark with flights by Bleriots and JAP's and found two flying schools there.(31) His death at Bournemouth as "a daring and enterprising experimentalist" was much mourned in Perth.(32) The comment in the Constitutional was perceptive: "Progress of aviation is now great."(33)

Housing and life style reflect class and for the middle-class in Perth life was very pleasant. The spate of private house-building at the start of the century had largely abated and by 1910 the city was spreading west to Burghmuir and Cherrybank.(34) Prices were reasonable: a half-villa in Tullylumb £835, a villa in Jeanfield £430 and a flat in Barossa Place £250.(35) Lots of other properties were easy to find. The men who lived in these areas were already moving away from strictly formal attire - in 1910 sports jackets, colourful socks and shoes were popular for relaxed dress and, even at work, silk hats and frock coats were fewer every year. Their wives were still rather grand - classic hair-frames, Pompadour and Turban, beneath a Chantecler hat crowned with a pheasant. Ostrich feathers were as popular for matrons as Peter Pan collars were for young women. Colours were a riot of Old Rose, Amethyst, Sky, Peach and Gold, while furs on sale at McEwens in St. John Street ranged from mole, squirrel, marmot and bear to possum. Corsetry was essential and woollen muffs and "Pigs" (foot warmers) were highly favoured.(36) Such people liked to wear evening dress, buy their brace of pheasants from G. Stobie, gamedealer in the High Street, their Havana cigars from R.B. Smith and Son in St. John Street and their claret from McDiarmid's. Their Valhalla tea, Egyptian cigarettes, turtle soup, duck and salmon always came from P. McArthur and Sons, grocers.

The working- class, or classes as there were several of them, lived differently. A skilled artisan would live in a four-roomed flat in George Street at an annual rent of £9, smoke a briar pipe and drink Ragett's Nourishing Stout at 2½d a pint. He would wear a 30/- ready-made suit from

from Stewart's, tailors, High Street, read a novel from Hampton's in Scott Street at 6d a week and occasionally snort Sandy McNab's snuff at 4d oz. His wife would wear corset and knickers at 1/- each with a striped, gingham underskirt at 3/6d, all purchased through R.A. Storey in South Methven Street. On special occasions she would wear a feather boa and ruffle costing 18/6d, smoke a Virginian cigarette and visit Madame Roma, fortune-teller in the Old Ship Inn. The unskilled, the "underclass" in modern terms, probably lived in the Thimblerow, Cow Vennel or Castle Gable or perhaps in the Skinnergate, Pomarium or Canal Street. There the houses were either "unfit" or "dangerous" often without toilets.(36) Some 31% of them lived in one - two rooms and almost all of these were overcrowded.(37) Bad drainage and rats were so common that the Perthshire Advertiser declared that "the slums of Perth are a disgrace."(38) But things were improving. The Housing and Town Planning Act 1908 had given the Town Council powers to demolish or upgrade by installing water-closets.(39) At the same time Perth Trades Council was campaigning against "excessive rents" and all the local political parties were urging the need for "well-planned houses with low rents."(40) The Town Council knew that the city was desperately short of decent housing and hoped that the ever-increasing legislation might carry the solution: Housing of the Working Classes 1890, the Burgh Police(Scot) Acts 1892 and 1893, the Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1893, the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899 and the Housing, Town Planning Act 1909.(41) After all, building regulations had started in Perth in 1878.(42) They had much to do - combat the landlord's increased powers of eviction granted by the House Letting and Rating(Scot) Act 1911 and extend local authority housing in Perth, already greater than in Glasgow.(43) The way ahead had already been shown by Pullars' model cottages at Tulloch, recently praised by the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland.(44) They were certainly involved in a host of schemes: sewage and water supply, which had priority; a new reservoir at Burghmuir; new streets - Darnhall, Church Street and Albany Street; new schools - Craigie and Northern District; a new bridge; a new city hall; a new infirmary; and they were even discussing a new site for Perth Academy and the possibility of building a crematorium.(45)

While Town Council sessions were as rumbustious as ever, their business, attracting new industries and more tourists, was becoming more complex every year; hence the necessity of having 14 committees by 1911 and

and the general use of typewriters and telephones by 1912.(46) All this was financed, in the main, by profits from the city's transport system. (47) In 1910 there were four lines - Scone, Cherrybank, Dunkeld Road and Craigie - which had been powered by horses till 1905, but these had been abandoned because they lost money.(48) Electric traction came in 1905-1906, but this too soon lost money and the Town Council were faced with a problem: should they buy buses? Trams had always had snags - "Sunday Cars" irritated the godly, as did illuminated tram stops; the motormen and conductors were always in search of a rise; horrendous accidents were common; and the system involved an outlay of £75,000.(49) The Town Council tried many solutions - displaying ads on trams, closing non-paying lines, introducing return fares and season tickets.(50) None worked. They had to buy buses. In March, 1911 the city began "a Motor Bus Trial", which was so successful that they bought two 30-seaters, a Belhaven and a Halley. (51) Soon there were buses to Almondbank and Tulloch despite protests from horse-hirers.(52) As bus receipts rose services were laid on to Bridge of Earn and Balbeggie.(53) As could have been expected, there were now bus accidents.(54) Despite this, the Town Council ordered more. (55)

But it was the advent of the motor car which had the greatest impact on the city between 1910 and 1914. Many still viewed the Motor Act 1903 as a dangerous amendment of the Locomotives on Highway Act 1896 and argued that registering cars and extending speed limits from 14mph to 20mph was absurd. Their objections raged on for years - there would be traffic jams, horses would be frightened, roads would be ruined and rates increased.(56) There were certainly more accidents, but horses alone, in 1910, killed six and injured 41 in Perth.(57) Others thought the motor car a boon. New shops appeared, George Valentine's Motor Engineering shop, South Street, then garages - Perth County Motor Garage Company in Speygate 1910; Valentine's Garage in King Edward Street 1912 and Pullars' Garage in Union Lane 1914.(58) They also brought problems: new streets were needed; more signposts and notices and far more speed restrictions. (59) Before long it was 10mph in central Perth, but this did little to prevent traffic jams and protect cyclists.(60) Clearly, traffic police were needed and they appeared in September, 1913.(61) The motor car even had an effect on road construction and technology as the Town Council realised that wider roads and better surfaces were safer.(62) However,

However, cars did get faster and in July, 1914 a man was found doing 42mph on the Dundee Road.(63) As the motor car became more popular it even influenced language - "speedster", "road hog" and "scorching" - as well as dress.(64) Ladies' motoring veils, in helio, mole and grey, sold at 2/11d, while a motoring coat could be had for 34/6d.(65) Newspapers too had to recognise their existence and soon had a Motor Column.(66) But it was their popularity that was alarming, such as the 1914 Commer, which aroused the passions of men like HS Pullar in the Auto Club.(67) A used five - seater Argyll was £50 and a new Lagonda with 11hp only £130. Naturally, there was a negative side - a whole battery of new legal offences and punishments, licence frauds, racing cars on the North Inch, an 84/- fine for speeding at 27mph and lengthy debates on the legality of speed traps.(68) But the motor car and the motor bike did stimulate the desire to explore the countryside and they soon replaced the 19th century bicycle. Before long the newspapers were full of motor-holiday adverts to the seaside.(69)

Another astonishing feature 1910-1914 was the rapid rise of the cinema in Perth. Given that it started as little more than a toy it soon blossomed into an elegant art form. Its impact was dramatic. In 1911 it forced the Victoria Roller-Skating Rink into bankruptcy and in 1913 the conversion of the Empire Music Hall in South Methven Street into the Empire Picture House.(70) The cut-throat competition observed elsewhere was repeated in Perth.(71) Patrons soon objected to the "lack of class" image and the desire for a more sophisticated ambience saw rough-and-ready cinemas, like the Electric Theatre in Alexandra Street, go to the wall. By 1913 Perth had five cinemas - BB(Bright and Beautiful) Picture House in Victoria Street, the Corona Picture House in the High Street, the La Scala in Scott Street, the King's Cinema in South Methven Street and the City Hall.(72) They offered a wide fare. In January, 1914 the BB Picture House showed "Riddle of the Tin Soldier" Monday to Wednesday and "Our New Minister" Thursday to Saturday.(73) As film-making was a speculative area it attracted many companies and they soon had huge circuits distributing a vast range of film-topics.(74) There was no lack of innovation. In February, 1914 Perth had "The Dictator", an "éclair-coloured drama" followed in April, 1914 by Kinnecolour.(75) Of course, interval entertainment was still "banjo-dances" as at La Scala in July, 1914 showing "The Curse of War."(76) As in everything else fads emerged - sacred films in 1913 when

when "immoral films"(as determined by the Film Board)were completely ignored.(77) With constant improvements demanded by a visually-hungry public it was only a question of time before Biocolour, Chronophone, Filaphone, Vivaphone and Cinephone would be surpassed.(78)

One aspect of pre-war society was changing almost imperceptibly - the press. Perth was fortunate in that her three newspapers covered the spectrum of political belief in that Perth Courier was a long established Liberal publication, while the Constitutional was an equally respectable Unionist product. Both argued the great issues of the day, the former for Free Trade and the latter for Protectionism. Fortunately, there was a middle-of-the-road Liberal-Unionist newspaper, the Perthshire Advertiser, which tended to be more moderate, more objective and less partisan. But all were changing due to the need to win a mass-market through better technology, especially photographs. These first appear in June, 1912 with pictures of Pullars' strikers and by 1913 they had replaced the old-style, front page cartoons.(79) Varying the price, as the Perthshire Advertiser did, 1d on Wednesday and ½d on Saturday, was another technique to win readers. The Perth Courier responded by bringing out a 3pm edition on Tuesdays for 1d. Language was changing too. The heavy, pedantic, 19th century prose, such as "ozone dipsomaniacs" - people on the beach - was replaced by a sharper, shorter, more dramatic version. For example, "excursionists" was now "trippers."(80) The emergence of a national slang, with words like "flapper" marks the decline of old, regional dialects and the growing influence of the film.(81) The florid nature of descriptions was also disappearing as "gay cavaliers" and "pretty weddings" were already old-fashioned by 1910. Of even greater importance was the now sustained concentration on sensation and scandal stripped of verbiage. Thus, divorce cases gave more intimate details of adultery and murder-trial reports used fewer asterisks. Headlines were in bigger print to imply greater threat - "LANCASHIRE PIT DISASTER" and "FEAR OF ULSTER CIVIL WAR." Adverts too, as old as time as they might be, now had a no-holds-barred outspokenness - "Clarke's B41 Pills for discharges from urinary organs."(82) Commercial psychology was even more blatant - "Eat Plainsman Oats and Drink Cocoa as used by the Royal Family!"(83) The very format of the newspapers revealed a changing world - Film Reviews, Pollution Reports, Suffrage News from Abroad and serials began to push Book Reviews, Garden Notes, Football Features and Sports News to

to the back pages, and regular items, such as Presbytery, Town Council and School Board Reports to reduced summaries. As provincial newspapers the press in Perth were less interested in the Mad Mullah in British Somaliland than in the fact that several local people were killed in the San Francisco Earthquake or lost with the Titanic.(84) Another change was coming - newsreels. The funeral of Sir Robert Pullar in September, 1912 was caught on 300' of cinematograph film at a cost of £10, while HS Pullar returned from his African safari in January, 1914 with 6,000' of film that he entitled, "Big Game Hunting."(85)

Some problems, of course, never change. Throughout the 19th century drink was the root of the social malaise in Perth and it had barely improved by 1910. There were 95 registered drinking howffs in the city and drink was cheap by any standard. For instance, Schiehallion Old Scotch was only 4/- a bottle, while McIntosh's No. 2 Special was just 3/-. It was even possible to buy two bottles of whisky and two of port for a mere 10/6d from Matthew Gloag's Wine and Spirit Merchants, Kinnoull Street.(86) The pubs in the centre of the city - Old Ship Inn, Stormont Arms, Britannia Inn, Glencoe, Empire and Bee Bar - were ghastly drinking dens, each with a long history of drunken violence.(87) Statistics show that 73% of all crime 1910-1914 was drink-related and that drunken females were the greatest problem for the police.(88) But drink was far from being a solely urban matter as riots at Ballinluig, Birnam, Pitlochry and Alyth clearly show.(89) Fortunately, there were many agencies pledged to fight the demon drink - Perth Prohibition Party, the Scottish Temperance and Social Reform Association, the "Catch-my-Pal" Movement from Ulster, temperance lectures in schools and even a TT steamer on the Tay.(90) There was progress - arrests for drunkenness steadily fell from 385 in 1903, to 357 in 1908 to 203 in 1909, but it was an uphill task as even police and firemen could be found drunk on duty. (91) Another side of the coin was immorality, and Perth, in 1913, had, at least, 24 full-time prostitutes, which, at that time was listed as "an occupation."(92) So sordid was "the Seamy Side of Perth night life" that the Town Council hired night patrols for the parks.(93)

Fortunately, murder and rape were rare, and the bulk of police work involved poaching, drunkenness, petty theft and wife assault. Otherwise there was sheep-stealing, child neglect and cruelty, breach of the peace, malicious damage and assaults.(94) Occasionally, there was fraud, photo

photo conmen, safe-robbery and "spurious coin circulation."(95) Sentences were generally savage: six years' penal servitude for burglary, 14 days for stealing a bicycle, a fine of 7/10½d for rail trespass and 20/- for "reckless cycling."(96) Although the uniformed officer was a figure of authority there was an enormous amount of juvenile crime in 1910 - vandalism, stealing bicycles, throwing stones at trains and telephone insulators - as well as minor offences - saturday footballon the North Inch, stealing fruit and street trading.(97) Gangs were common and most of the members were either illegitimate or from broken homes.(98) Punishments were much less severe than formerly, at least since the Probation of Offenders Act 1907 and no children were whipped in Perth in the 1910-1914 period.(99) Very bad behaviour was still punished by a spell in Reformtory or an Industrial School. Police statistics show that juvenile misbehaviour came in waves: football violence 1906, vandalism on the South Inch 1907, damaging trees 1908, breaking windows 1909, stones at trains 1911, uprooting trees 1913 and damaging post-boxes 1914. The 42 policemen typed all their reports after 1903, used finger prints 1913 and photos from London CID 1914. Sadly, they usually lost their best men to the Metropolitan or to Canada.(100) Each year they had more paper-work due to the Motor Car Act 1903, the Shop Hours Act 1904, the Dogs Order 1906, the Childrens Act 1908, the OAP Act 1908, the Housing and Town Planning Act 1909, the Shops Act 1912 and the MD(Scot) Act 1913. Consequently, they wanted an eight-hour day, subsidised accommodation and an increase to their £96pa pay.(101) Their private files show that they spent much of their time analysing the reasons for the existence of problem families like the Quinns, Foyles and Foleys and whether habitual offenders were the product of heredity or environment.(102) They set up "criminal profiles" and established that thieves were generally small, the violent were taller, the fraudsters older and that most of them had no fixed abodes.(103) They also noted that many offenders were mentally ill and that each year brought new types of crime, such as the theft of National Insurance cards in 1911.(104) They also observed that crime statistics were poor guides in that it depended on one's definition of a "crime" and they further predicted that there would be a steady rise in crimes against the person from 1907.(105)

As for health, infant mortality fell steadily from 129.7/1,000 in

in 1889 to 83.5/1,000 in 1910.(106) Much of this was due to the Perth Day Nursery Association founded 1909 which was able to report the lowest birth-rate ever in June, 1914.(107) "It is associated with a general raising of the standard of comfort." Illegitimacy was steady at 7% but was slowly losing its stigma. For instance, birth certificates no longer stated "birth in prison", but "birth in an institution."(108) Already there was a feeling that "Day Nurseries are indispensable."(109) Sadly, working-class school children tended to have a catalogue of defects - at least 20% had bad teeth, skin diseases and poor speech, while an unfortunate few did not even have footwear.(110) The School Board strove to do its best - a school nurse was appointed, free toothbrushes and boots were distributed, hygiene was taught, swimming encouraged, diets(based on cod-liver oil and Parish's syrup) were prescribed, free spectacles issued, a cooking depot opened, special classes set up for the backward and a Summer Holiday Home established at Pitlochry for the needy.(111) Much of this sprang from the Education Act 1908 which stated "that the School Board has to feed and clothe the necessitous." It was becoming obvious that, in the future, the "State will have to pay for them."(112) The underlying cause of the problems was clear - "Poverty is the greatest cause of child wastage." Newspapers played their part with health campaigns urging more exercise, the use of "pure milk and butter" and the need to "become health conscious."(113) Middle-class Perth citizens already spent large sums on "health foods" - Maltona beef, Abdine fruit drink, Vi cocoa "for energy" and Tonol, "the perfect tonic for the brain!" There was a cure for everything - Chlorodyne for bronchitis and asthma, Zam-Buck for piles, Peps for whooping-cough and Bay Rum for baldness. Every summer the middle-class had their holiday in Strathpeffer, the Isle of Man or Portobello, where they took their pictures with their 3/- Pocket Kodak. No wonder the Perthshire Advertiser could boast that "Perth is a healthy city!"(114) Unfortunately, that was not true. Tuberculosis was rising fast, especially among the pauper class, and the appointment of a TB officer in 1912 showed that the Town Council suspected that the "Consumption Scourge" could only get worse.(115)

Many of the young thought that there were healthier climates elsewhere and emigrated. Canada was the most popular with reports of high wages published almost weekly in the press.(116) The "call of the west" lured at least 350 Perth people in the year 1909-1910.(117) The flow in-

increased when Barlas and Edwards, shipping agents, in the High Street ran a series of "cinematograph views" in local halls and gave talks on "Free Land", "The Children's Emigration Scheme", "The Canadian Pacific Railway" and "The Canadian Government's appeal for women as wives!"(118) But the greatest drain on Perth came in January, 1913 when a new dyeing industry opened in Montreal. Over 100 dyers left with their families and more followed in 1914 with the trade union disputes in Perth.(119) Then, in July, 1914 it came to an abrupt stop - there was unemployment in Canada. Australia was less popular because it wanted farm-workers rather than tradesmen. However, lectures on "Australia's wide spaces!" generated an emigration boom in 1910 with large numbers of young people heading for New South Wales and West Australia especially.(120) The result of this movement of people was a strengthening of the feeling for Empire and this was shown in many ways - Festivals of the Empire, "Sons of the Empire" dinners, "News of the Empire" columns in the press and a steady stream of letters and reports. (121) It even deepened the mystical love of one's own country, idealising valour and chivalry and seeing the UK as rural rather than industrial.(122) This was to prove the motivating force behind the volunteers of August, 1914.

Religion however was changing. While the middle-class saw it as "respectability", it either meant "evangelical rebirth" or nothing to the working-class. Perceptive commentators had already noted the spread of atheism as well as spiritualism, theosophy and vegetarianism.(123) As ever, spiritualism was not far behind. This feeling for change was also marked in politics. Perth had long been a Liberal-dominated city with a list of Liberal election wins - 1885, 1886, 1895, 1900, 1906 and 1907. The two General Elections of 1910 simply continued the trend.(124) Hence, all the leading businessmen - Sir Robert Pullar, Peter Campbell and James Coates - were members of the Perth Liberal Club in George Street. They favoured votes for women and home rule as much as they despised the House of Lords and Protectionism. (125) Unionists, last in power in 1892, seemed to have little chance, but this was not so. There was a split in the Pullar family as HS Pullar became a leading Unionist warning thet Free Trade was disastrous with the dominance of Germany. But, it was "the wave of deep and passionate feeling" over Ulster that had re-invigorated the Unionists. Headlines like "WILL THERE BE CIVIL WAR?" and "REVOLUTION IN IRELAND?" filled the average Perth reader with horror.(126) Socialism seemed to be making progress with the formation of a Perth Labour Party in 1907, four years before that in Glas-

Glasgow.(127) It was soon "well-entrenched in Perth with meetings regularly well-attended."(128) They soon had a member on the School Board and invited prominent speakers - Will Crooks, Sidney Webb and James O'Grady - to come to Perth.(129) Not long after Dundee got its first Labour MP a call went out for a PPC for Labour in Perth. Their platform was appealing - "We need Socialism for milk and medicine for children" - and condemnation of slums, high rents and a demand for nationalized railways.(130) Early in 1914 they even challenged the Church: "What has the Christian Church been doing for almost 2,000 years in regard to - - drink, black slavery, white slavery, housing, sweating - - nothing!"(131) Their New Labour Rooms in Atholl Street was a hot-bed for radical ideas. Then, in July, 1912 the Dyers' Union firmly declared themselves opposed to both Socialism and Syndicalism.(132) Clearly, until the Labour Party could win over the trade unions they would get nowhere.

The position of women was changing rapidly in the period 1910-1914. The first woman pensioner, Maggie Trotter, had just completed her 50 year stint at Pullars' Dyeworks, while lady typists were in demand in every city office.(133) There was already a female probation officer, a City Hall caretaker, a swimming teacher and teams of lady gymnasts.(134) There was even mixed bathing on the Tay! The male perception of women was changing - women were standing for school boards, suing for divorce and one had even looped the loop in a plane.(135) This is seen in press articles: "Could women be Company Directors?" "Will we have Women Police soon?" "Why are Women underpaid?"(136) But some women were impatient for change and thought that the franchise was the key. They have a long history.(137) However, their first rallies and demonstrations began in Perth in 1906. But it was the opening of a branch of the WFL - the Women's Federation League - that introduced a more radical, fiery element in 1908.(138) Theywere very persuasive and at a Guild Hall debate in November, 1908 "Votes for Women" was carried by 61 to 50.(139) But it got no further and by 1909 they were turning militant and violent, so much so, that an Anti-Suffrage League was formed.(140) The result was that when the Lord Advocate visited Perth in January, 1910 he had to have police protection.(141) A more peaceful balance was achieved when the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies - NUWSS - opened in Bridgend and launched a series of guest speakers - Dr. Elsie Inglis, Mrs. Philip Snowden and Miss Haldane of

of Cloan.(142) Their non-violent policy of garden parties, rallies, cake and candy stalls was very popular in Perth and won the support of the Town Council and A.F. Whyte MP, who even went so far as to venture his backing for equal pay.(143) Many praised the Suffragettes for their "moderate and sensible actions in Perth", but the editor of the Perth Courier warned: "The giving of an inch to the advocates of votes for women have evolved clamour for the proverbial ell."(144) He also posed an interesting point: "Why are women so apathetic in municipal elections and yet so strident for the franchise?"(145)

Perhaps in response to this rhetorical question the NUWSS put forward candidates for the School Board elections in 1911.(146) What demonstrations they had were conducted with lively decorum. In 1912 violence erupted in other parts of the country - smashing windows, arson, acid in post-boxes, and although it was quiet in Perth, these incidents lost the Suffragettes the support of Perth Town Council.(147) Disorder came to Perth in April, 1913 with the burning of Perth Cricket Pavilion at a cost of £1,200 and a riot three days later.(148) There were arguments for banning open-air meetings and counter-arguments on the sanctity of free speech. Then, with incidents as near as Dundee and repeated noisy demonstrations the police were forced to patrol public buildings at night in pairs.(149) But it was the death of Emily Davidson in June, 1913 that sparked off a torrent of emotion and four serious near-riots in Perth leading the police to finger-print suspected arsonists.(150) By August the Suffragettes began a new ploy - chanting in churches, which lost them the support of the local clergy. By October there were huge Anti-Suffrage rallies in the city.(151) 1913 ended with society terrified of arson and the police hot on the trail of a Miriam Pratt and a Rachel Peace, whose photographs were displayed in Perth.(152) The police suspected that 1914 would be "the year of crisis" and they were right. As the NUWSS broadsheet, "Common Cause", flooded the city, the local Women's Liberal Association declared its opposition to its aims.(153) This inflamed NUWSS activists and they demanded "more militancy now!"(154) Arson attacks increased and in one night, 3 February, 1914 three Perthshire mansions - the House of Ross, Aberuchill and St. Fillan's castles were torched, earning the fierce condemnation of the Presbytery of Perth.(155) As might have been expected this provoked open war between militants and non-militants, while the Liverpool CID were send-


VOTES FOR WOMEN
WOMENS
LEAGUE

sending 48 photographs of "the most wanted suspects" to Perth and issuing warrants for their arrest.(156) By June local detectives were patrolling the grounds of Perth Royal Infirmary, while uniformed colleagues arrested Suffragette speakers at the High Street Port.(157) Then came July, a month in which the Suffragettes had promised "a lively reception" for George V and Queen Mary when they came to Perth to open the new infirmary. Their reason was because one of their number, a Miss Arabella Scott, was being forcibly fed at Perth Penitentiary.(158) To emphasise the point they interrupted services at St. Stephen's U.F. with chants of "O Lord, hasten the liberation of our sisters in prison" and on 11 July, in County Place, flung leaflets at the King as he passed in an open car.(159) For this "outrage" Mrs. Elizabeth Crawford, 26, was sentenced to 15 days in prison.(160) This provoked "a Suffragette invasion" as pickets paraded nightly outside the jail.(161) Next day 300 women marched to the Penitentiary gates to join some 2,000 in a protest against forcible feeding, while six dedicated activists entered St. John's Kirk East and commenced chanting.(162) News of such incidents reached London and questions were asked in the House of Commons, which persuaded the authorities to release some of the detainees because of public disquiet.(163) Over the next few days St. Ninian's Cathedral was visited twice by activists causing the Cathedral Provost to remark: "I must confess that I admire the pluck and determination of the Militants."(164) With interruptions to the film show in the La Scala and deputations from the public against "the Botany Bay in Perth" it only took a mass rally on the North Inch by Perth and District Trades and Labour Council for the authorities to yield - Miss Arabella Scott was released; she and her colleagues had destroyed £97,975 worth of property in Scotland.(165)

Behind all this political turmoil economic forces moved on relentlessly and to the amazement of most people there was "a sudden rise in food prices" in August, 1911 - sugar rising by ½d lb, bacon 1d and a loaf by ½d to 6½d.(166) The Perth Courier spelled it out: "HARD TIMES COME AGAIN." (167) The Board of Trade was naturally concerned and in 1913 published a report: "Perth is the most costly place to live in the UK."(168) If prices in London were taken as 100, then Glasgow was 99, Aberdeen 101, Edinburgh 103, Dundee 104 and Perth 108. In other words, prices in Perth had risen 16%. It was further disclosed that this upward trend had started in 1906 and by 1913 rent, food, fuel and clothing had gone up 10%, but wages had

had only risen 6% Aberdeen, 5% Dundee, 4% Glasgow, 3% Edinburgh and Perth. As for meat, prices were up 9% Glasgow, 13% Edinburgh. 16% Dundee, 20% Perth and 25% Aberdeen. Rents had also risen - Edinburgh and Dundee 10%, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Perth 13%. It was obvious that poverty would increase too and that industrial trouble was just around the corner. By 1914 the average wage was 25/8d per week, while the average outlay on food was 23/9d per week. Everyone realised that if war came, there would be "much higher food prices."(169)

Poverty was not new. On the contrary, it had always been a problem in Scottish urban history, but in 1910 it increased.(170) The Perth MO observed in October, 1909: "Despite 15 degrees of frost a large number of children were attending school barefooted, many undersized and under-nourished."(171) Yet there were no fewer than 37 agencies in the city designed to fight poverty "all non-partisan and all non-sectarian" - Hillside Homes (1878), Sick Poor Nursing Society(1885) and Perth Hospice(1910) and others.(172) Despite the effort and money spent there seemed no solution and some proposed a Civic Guild as well as soup kitchens.(173) The Perthshire Advertiser observed: "Perth Prison fuels the problem" with an annual discharge of 239 ex-convicts, most of whom just stayed in the city.(174) Realization that the very poor carried TB led to meetings to discuss the matter and to extend poor relief.(175) Analysis led to a startling headline on 23 October, 1911 in the Perthshire Advertiser: "POVERTY AND DISEASE ARE RAMPANT IN PERTH." Confirmation lay in the fact that 701 had applied for relief.(176) Another benchmark was the number of pawnbrokers, like Jacob Samuel and Jane Cohen, and the licensed city brokers - 18 in 1913 and the number of debt cases appearing monthly in the Sheriff Court - 74 in January, 1914.(177) While Perth tried hard to return any vagrant to his/her place of birth by legal means, the Dean of Guild denounced "the thriftless class that menace the state."(178) Perth had its attraction for the county's 414 "professional tramps" in 1914 - four doss-houses, one of which, Skinnergate Model, had 19,145 clients in 1913 alone.(179) The city refused to entertain such numbers and in July, 1914 reduced the poor rate by 1d.(180)

The years 1910-1914 saw a strenuous effort made by the trade unions to get a hold in Perth. In 1910 they succeeded with the Municipal Employees' Association and the Perth Shop Assistants' Union, but failed with the

the Upholsterers' Union.(181) Town employees agitated for a week's holiday with pay and got it.(182) But it was in April, 1911 that the Scottish Trades Union Congress meeting in Dundee, after hearing how girls in Perth had been victimised for trying to form a trade union, decided to launch a crusade.(183) They sent four of their best people - Alderman Hayhurst of the Amalgamated Society of Dyers and Cleaners; George Dallas(close friend of Jimmy Maxton), with his wife, Agnes Brown, of the National Federation of Women Workers; and Mary MacArthur also of the NFWW. They soon got down to it with meetings in the ILP Rooms, Atholl Street, at which they stated their aims - higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions - for all. They immediately formed a Dyers' Union. The two women, enlisted by Miss McLean, a NFWW organiser, soon had 400 members in the Wallace Works alone. (184) Then, in August, 1911 came the Great Rail Strike and the Perth region was completely paralysed.(185) The Perthshire Advertiser gave its verdict on 28 August: "GREAT VICTORY FOR TRADE UNIONISM - STRIKERS WIN!" The effectiveness of a concerted strike action was plain for all to see and every section in the community took up arms. The printers, members of the Typographical Society(1855), demanded a closed-shop and an end to "female dilution." They had little support from the city because of their 1900 strike record when they had used violence and intimidation which had resulted in imprisonment for some of them.(186) They had already had a 1/- rise and an hour off in 1908 and many felt that with 31/- a week they had enough.(187) This infuriated the printers and they started a "34/- for 50 hours" campaign based on "the increased cost of living." The Perth and District Trades Council were worried about the pos sibility of renewed violence and asked A.F. Whyte MP if troops might be used. He replied: only if the community was "violently blackmailed." Those who did not belong to strong trade unions had no chance - the typists, who only earned £26pa, the scavengers, carters and gas depot labourers.(188) The latter only had 22/- for a 51 hour week and they were granted a rise of 1/6d. However, when they asked for more they were told that their work was easier with the introduction of mechanical stocking.(189)

In 1912 coal rose by 1/6d to 1/9d a cwt and the Perthshire Advertiser asked: "IS THE COUNTRY MAD? The coal strike, menacing and injurious as it is, is merely a symptom of the volcanic unrest which seems to permeate the crust of practically every branch of labour in this country. What is the cause of it? Is the country ripe for an Industrial Revolution? Are the

the workers so downtrodden that they are prepared to resort to desperate methods to enforce their demands?"(190) The sudden news that the NFWW was now the biggest trade union in the city came as an unpleasant shock to employers.(191) It seemed to inspire the joiners, who with 8d an hour, were furious to learn that 9½d was the rate in Dundee and they threatened to strike as they had done in 1900 and 1901.(192) They did so - and won ½d. (193) Bakers wanted 2/- and the painters, who had a record of strikes in 1900 and 1906 as well as "violent intimidation", demanded a rise too.(194) Then, just as the public learned that there were now 120 in the Shop Assistants' Union, the police demanded "minor adjustments" which were granted. (195) In January, 1913 the painters delivered their demands - saturday half-day, double time for working on public holidays, 2d a day extra if working outside the city, a week's holiday at midsummer and if working then, time and a half and 2/- for apprentices.(196) Despite having pickets at the railway station non-union labour managed to get in and the strike collapsed. However, the masters gave ½d. The union responded by asking for another 1d. (197) The power of the strike was then demonstrated by the plumbers who asked for 1d and were offered ½d now and ½d later, which they refused.(198) They got their 1d at once and instantly asked for another 1d.(199)

This was the signal for the March, 1913 wage-scramble in Perth. The plasterers asked for 1d and got ½d; the tailors were promised ½d within a year; the drovers wanted 1/6d; the glaziers got ½d; the bakers received 2/-; and the blacksmiths were granted a 51 hour week.(200) The unrest spread - 200 came out at Stanley Mill, where the average female wage was only 12/- a week; the workers at Invergowrie Paper Works struck for an extra 2/- and a train-load of unemployed men from Perth and Dundee was sent to Leith to break a stevedore strike and were violently attacked there.(201) Everywhere there was unrest. In Perth in 1914 the water workers demanded a rise as did the road labourers and the police, while the tailors refused to wait any longer for their increase.(202) Not all were successful - the joiners were refused as were the gas and general workers, but significantly, railwaymen were now asking for a minimum wage and the carters had set up a union. (203)

None of the above seemed likely to affect the big mills and factories of Perth. After all, labour was cheap in the city and what unemployment there was, was usually short and irregular.(204) Its causes however, were

were still a mystery, despite the existence of Labour Exchanges. The city was conscious of its growing wealth as rates income continued to rise and investments in Canada and tea flourished. There was even £1,500,000 in the County and Perth Savings Bank, oven though it infuriated unionists to learn that over a million of it was owned by the city's six leading industrialists.(205) The North British Dye Works, owned by the Pullar family, felt secure in 1910.(206) After all, they had just set up a joint stock company, John Pullar and Sons Ltd., Dyers and Cleaners under the Companies(Consolidated)Act 1908 valued at £200,000. Everything seemed fine till the Coal and Rail Strike of March, 1912. Soon 2,500 were idle. After this devastating blow, recovery was slow. Unfortunately, the Dyers' Union seized this moment to demand "higher wages and better conditions." Since 1882 rises, virtually automatic, had been announced on 1 June, but the union, with only 200 members(but a "fighting fund" of £50,000) denounced "the miserable wage of 22/- after a long, seven years' apprenticeship, the lack of an established scale and poor overtime payments." The management foolishly did not explain the significance of a limited liability company nor the effects of the National Insurance Act, especially the fact that the financial year now began in November.(207) A deputation from the Finishing Department was rebuffed and a rumour spread that they would be sacked. Some 240 from the Glazing Department went on strike and were immediately locked-out. Pickets were set up and demands were lodged for a scale - 6/- at 14 years and 30/- at 30. More rumours appeared and 200 from the Ironing Department walked out, led by a Councillor Stewart from Dundee, "who had come to organise them." George Dallas, still in Perth, wired the Dyers' Union HQ in Bradford for help. The Perth Courier had no doubt as to where blame lay: "management insensitivity." On 4 June, 1912 the strikers gathered on the North Inch and marched through the city, while the Trades Council set up a Strike Fund.(208) Fear of management reprisals, especially against those in tied-houses,spread rapidly even though the firm declared that "nobody is sacked and nobody will be victimised." RD Pullar gave a small rise to the apprentices and announced that "other workers would be considered in November", while he told the press that "Trade union organisers are pouring into Perth from all over." He was right. A Miss McIntosh and William Rushworth had arrived to add their organizational skills to the strike. This did not go unnoticed. The Perthshire Advertiser commented: "It is rather singular, not to say ominous, that with the

the inception of trade unions among the dyeworkers, a strike should instantly follow."(209) RD added his view: "We don't pay off in slack spells and the female workers are animated because of the Suffragettes and the NFWW." It was certainly true that only one male dyer was on strike. At this point the strikers' solidarity began to crack and the 500 involved blamed the dyers who were trying to widen differentials. The union called a vote, but only 201 did so and of these just 50 wanted to carry on. They went back to work.(210) Wisely, management did not gloat, despite the fact that the general public were bitterly opposed to the union.(211) But that very night of defeat 500 more women joined the NFWW. The Perthshire Advertiser headline - "TRADE UNION DEFEATED" - merely encouraged the Dyers' Union to greater effort. Then the management made a tactical error - they announced the lapse of the Sickness Benefit Society(because of the National Insurance Act)and that the summer break would have to be cut to make up lost production. It seemed like spiteful revenge and some union activists quit for Canada.(212) Yet, a few months later the firm granted the dyers a scale: 24/- at 20 years and 34/- at 28.(213) A lull followed during which time the firm installed generators and bought vans.(214) The Constitutional reflected: "As the workers abandon Liberalism and move left how long will it be before there is a Labour MP in Perth?"

In September, 1913 the Dyers' Union renewed their attack by demanding a national minimum wage of 36/- plus 2/- "for all", a 51 hour week and time and half overtime.(215) This was clearly an impossible demand, but Rushworth cleverly took this moment to declare his belief in Votes for Women and Equal Pay - "Why should a man have 31/- and a woman only 11/-?" (216) The result - more women joined the union. In March, 1914 the union again changed tactics and sent its shop stewards to ask for a rise.(217) RD Pullar was annoyed by this and despite the fact that the union now had over 600 members suggested that if they were dissatisfied they should go. (218) While the press screamed "STRIFE!", Rushworth shouted, "Victimisation!", but it was the Perthshire Advertiser that caught the mood: "THERE IS A FEELING OF FEAR IN THE WORKS." Eventually 27 workers were asked to leave and 26 of them were leading unionists. RD Pullar denied that he was trying to smash the union, but few believed him, especially when it was learned that he had replaced these men with boys.(219) Obviously, "it was to lower production costs to pay for the recent wage increases and to crush the Trade Union." The management, deeply annoyed, asked its work-

work-force to sign a Petition of Loyalty - 1,671(80%)did so and 276(20%) refused. It marked the end of an era.

P. and P. Campbell, Perth Dye Works, invested heavily in new machinery in the years 1910-1914.(220) Like Pullars they had formed a Limited Liability Company in 1912, but the March, 1912 Coal and Rail Strike shattered their confidence in the railways and made them realise that "dyeing was no longer a prosperous trade."(221) This was a view shared by Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks and they slowly withdrew from dyeing to concentrate on laundry work, which they found highly profitable. Coates' Balhousie Works found that jute costs had risen steadily since 1910, while the 1912 Strike left them without coal.(222) Carpet yarn shot up in price in 1913, while their workers were given rises amounting to 12½%.(223) Shields' Wallace Works found their profits soar in 1910 despite rising costs and worry over US tariffs. But the 1912 Strike put them on short time followed by a weavers' request for a cut in hours without loss of pay.(224) Nevertheless 1911 was a good year and big extensions in plant were planned. The announcement that the 1912 profit was £11,444 proved to be "a signal for unrest."(225) Miss Sloan of the NFWW demanded a 10% rise on the basis that "Perth has the highest food costs and lowest pay."(226) She had a strong case: the workers had had no real rise since 1893, just "adjustments, reductions and restorations", but now 80% of the women were in the union and they wanted more - better yarn, 2/- immediately, 10% on piece-rates, equal division of work, pay at time-rate while waiting, towels and cups.(227) All they got were the towels. HG Shields tried to wriggle out of any commitment by accusing the weavers of "being careless and costing the firm some £3,000 a year." The union replied that weavers often had to look after five looms apiece. A strike ballot showed that 332 wanted to stop work and only 57 to continue. Miss Sloan emphasised their motives: "Perth is very dear and since 1906 the value of 20/- has fallen to 16/8d and eggs, bacon and butter are dearer." She warned her members, "no fighting with Blacklegs!" The male workers now called in Rushworth and he declared a strike from 23 September, 1913 and that strikers would get 7/- a week. HG Shields thundered that "the Trade Unions are making 800 idle!" and then settled the matter quietly with a 5% rise and the formation of a committee of twelve to meet monthly with management.(228) HG had learned a lesson - the value of solidarity and he appealed to fellow-industrialists to form a Federation of Employers "to match the Unions."(229) Asmany ex-

expected the firm's profits for 1913 were a miserable £5,420 "due to higher wages and taxes as well as the large reduction in the US tariff." (230)

The economic health of the other city employers varied - Moncrieff Glass Works declared that March, 1912 "had nearly killed trade", a view shared by Garvie and Deas, Dyers, South Methven Street, which almost closed down.(231) The Co-operative in Perth was unpopular, and the General Accident, John Douglas and Sons as well as Scone Preserve Works were all having shareholder problems. Only the Perthshire Laundry Company Ltd., St. Catherine's Road, the Hamilton Steam Laundry, Dunkeld Road and the Scone Laundry Company Ltd., were really thriving. That is, of course, apart from John Dewar and Sons Ltd., whose whisky profits were a massive £152,762.(232) At the harbour, coastal trade with London, Leith, Dundee and Newcastle brought in a steady flow of glass, manure, salt and potatoes, while the foreign trade with Hamburg, Riga, St. Petersburg, Archangel and Ghent brought in wood, oilcake, cement, maize, ice and slates. But even these had an element of risk - the river tended to drop in summer and ships were easily stranded.

Despite the foreign trade, foreigners were not popular in Perth. There was an unfounded belief that Russian ships brought cholera, while Italians were openly disliked. By 1910 they had 18 families in the city - Cura, Guilanotti, Manattini, Giacopazzi - and they had all prospered, eight were confectioners, six were fish restaurateurs and four shopmen. (233) The largest alien group in Perth were the Germans - Buhrer, Nef, Kumerer, Liebow - and they formed a congregation of 100 in the West Hall, St. John's parish, under their Pastor, Herr E. Albrecht.(234) Their presence was strongly felt - the shops were full of Hochheimer, Zeller and Moselle wines at 1/2d a bottle, Bechstein pianos at £85, Blickensdorf typewriters, German lessons in the Temperance Hall and the Berlin Meister Orchestra under Herr Blane playing in the Lesser City Hall. But, there was growing resentment over trade. After all, Germany was for Protection and the UK was for Free Trade.(235) Besides there was great envy of Germany's commercial success.(236) There was even a feeling of inferiority with Perth dyers having to go to Germany to learn the latest techniques. Then there was the fame of their achievements in teaching, technology, music and science.(237) But it was the pschological affect of fear that sowed distrust - the hysterical idea in 1903 that the Germans were planning an attack on the Forth Bridge that sparked off war novels like "Riddle

Riddle of the Sands" by Erskine Childer and "The 39 Steps" by John Buchan. News that Germany was expanding her fleet simply confirmed the suspicions. Although officialdom officially denied all this, behind the scenes it was different. In January, 1914 Major Kell of the War Office wrote to the Chief Constable warning him of "aliens and espionage."(238) More and more evidence seemed to indicate that war was coming - the huge extensions to Krupps' Armament Works, the Bruno Langer flying feat of 14 hours in the air, the notorious Kiel Naval Dinner for Prince Henry of Prussia and the news that the cruiser "Seydlitz" could do 28 knots.(239) But did these all add up to war? Surely war was inconceivable in the year 1914?

Footnotes

1. TC 2/2/1914; PA 20/4/1910
2. POL1/5/30(26/8/1911); TC 8/2/1911, 3/2/1913
3. PC 4/1/1910
4. TC 4/8/1913
5. PA 29/7/1914
6. C 15/8/1910; PC 7/7/1914
7. Ibid., 3/5/1910
8. Ibid., 24/3/1914, 26/7/1910, 24/1/1910, 4/1/1910; PA 26/1/1910
9. C 21/2/1912, 4/3/1914
10. Ibid., 26/12/1910
11. PC 4/1/1910, 5/4/1910
12. C 4/1/1909
13. Ibid., 10/6/1908, 18/7/1910
14. PA 29/6/1910, 3/8/1910
15. Ibid., 13/4/1910, 13/7/1910; C 15/6/1914; PA 27/6/1914, 1/7/1914
16. PC 1/2/1910
17. Ibid., 4/1/1910, 6/1/1914
18. Ibid., 3/3/1914; PA 25/3/1914; PC 21/4/1914
19. Ibid., 8/11/1910; C 14/11/1910
20. Ibid., 29/6/1910
21. PC 18/1/1910, 11/1/1910
22. Ibid., 28/6/1910
23. Ibid., 4/1/1910
24. C 9/5/1910, 21/12/1910

25. PA 13/5/1911; TC 20/2/1912
26. PC 13/9/1910, 18/10/1910, 10/8/1910; C 23/2/1914
27. PC 6/1/1914
28. Ibid., 3/3/1914
29. C 21/11/1910
30. POL1/2/3(26/3/1914)
31. PC 5/7/1910, 2/8/1910, 19/7/1910
32. Ibid., 19/7/1910
33. C 10/8/1910
34. PE1/10/6
35. PC 1/2/1910, 22/2/1910, 15/3/1910
36. TC 12/2/1911, 23/5/1912, 12/1/1914, 9/3/1914
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38. TC 17/11/1910; PA 13/6/1914
39. TC 21/12/1911, 13/2/1913, 14/7/1913
40. MS41/3(25/9/1912); PC 13/1/1914
41. Marwick, Arthur(1984) Britain in Our Century, London, p.42; Rodger, R., pp.238-239
42. Ibid., p.36
43. Ibid., pp.230, 9
44. PC 9/6/1914
45. Ibid., 3/2/1914, 10/2/1914, 17/3/1914; C 20/10/1909; TC 2/6/1910, 10/4/1911; PC 25/1/1910, 30/8/1910; PA 28/6/1911; PC 2/6/1914; TC 2/9/1912; PC 13/1/1914; C 13/2/1914
46. PC 19/4/1910, 13/9/1910, 15/3/1910, 10/3/1914, 17/2/1914
47. TC 15/8/1910
48. PA 19/1/1910, 25/1/1910
49. TC 14/3/1910; PC 1/3/1910, 6/9/1910, 29/3/1910; TC 29/3/1910, 19/6/1910
50. PC 23/8/1910; PA 10/8/1910; TC 9/2/1914, 29/1/1914
51. Ibid., 30/3/1911, 11/8/1911
52. Ibid., 18/5/1911, 8/2/1912, 15/2/1912
53. Ibid., 5/12/1912, 20/3/1913
54. Ibid., 13/9/1913
55. PC 10/3/1914, 12/5/1914

56. POL1/14/2(16/8/1909); PA 6/7/1910; POL1/1/6
57. POL1/2/3; C 9/1/1910, 25/4/1910, 18/5/1910, 20/6/1910, 28/9/1910; POL1/5/30(18/8/1911); TC 16/3/1914; PA 10/1/1914
58. C 12/1/1910, 20/4/1910; TC 11/11/1912, 25/5/1914
59. PC 31/5/1910; TC 4/8/1910; PC 23/3/1910; POL1/15/2(19/8/1911)
60. POL1/14/2(31/8/1911); PC 1/4/1912, 16/5/1912
61. Ibid., 22/9/1913
62. Ibid., 29/5/1911, 15/6/1914
63. PA 1/7/1914
64. C 28/9/1910, 24/10/1910; PC 20/9/1910, 27/9/1910; PA 26/10/1910
65. C 4/5/1910; PA 27/4/1910
66. PA 7/1/1914
67. PC 3/5/1910; TC 9/4/1914
68. POL1/2/3(1/6/1911); PA 24/6/1914; PC 26/7/1910; POL1/53/2(4/11/1910)
69. PC 3/2/1914, 21/7/1914
70. Ibid., 1/8/1911
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72. Ibid., p.25: PE1/37/1
73. PC 6/1/1914
74. Low, Rachel, pp.19, 22, 53
75. PC 14/2/1914; PA 16/4/1914
76. Ibid., 11/7/1914
77. Low, Rachel, pp.63,86,89
78. Ibid., pp.102,265
79. PA 5/6/1912; C 21/5/1913; PC 21/5/1913
80. Ibid., 21/7/1914, 31/5/1910
81. Low, Rachel, p.32; Excelsior Magazine, No. 90, Vol. XXIII
82. PC 4/1/1910
83. Ibid., 18/1/1910
84. PA 15/7/1914; C 6/6/1906, 17/4/1912
85. PA 14/1/1914
86. C 21/12/1910
87. PE12/1; PE1/2/5
88. POL1/29/8; POL1/45/3; POL1/5/31; POL1/42/1
89. PC 20/7/1910; C 10/8/1910, 7/11/1910
90. PC 8/2/1910; C 14/6/1911; PC 8/11/1910; PA 2/3/1910; PC 15/3/1910

91. PA 10/2/1910; C 16/2/1910; POL1/28/2
92. PC 20/1/1914; POL1/45/3
93. PA 10/6/1914
94. POL1/14/2; POL1/36/10; POL1/45/3
95. POL1/2/3
96. PA 13/5/1914; POL1/14/2(13/9/1909); POL1/37/1(11/6/1912, 23/5/1911)
97. TC 22/1/1912; POL1/14/2(18/11/1910)
98. POL1/37/1(28/7/1911)
99. POL1/37/12
100. POL1/15/1; POL1/5/3(2/6/1913, 21/3/1914); POL1/8/1(29/2/1911); POL1/5/30(18/4/1912)
101. POL1/15/1(5/4/1910); TC 3/4/1913
102. Ibid., 19/5/1913
103. POL1/36/10
104. POL1/14/2(1/9/1913)
105. PA 10/2/1910
106. PC 12/4/1910
107. PA 26/4/1910; PC 9/6/1914
108. Ibid., 5/7/1910
109. Ibid., 5/5/1914
110. Ibid., 9/8/1910
111. C 21/9/1910 SB 1909-1910, 1910-1911, 1911-1912, 1912-1913
112. Ibid., 1907-1908
113. PC 17/5/1910, 31/5/1910
114. PA 10/3/1914
115. TC 28/11/1912; C 8/6/1914
116. PC 25/1/1910, 14/6/1910
117. Ibid., 24/1/1910, 26/4/1910
118. PA 11/1/1911; PC 21/2/1911; PA 29/3/1911
119. PC 28/1/1913, 15/2/1913, 29/3/1913; C 1/10/1913
120. PC 18/1/1910, 18/4/1910; PA 27/4/1910; C 3/1/1910; PC 1/3/1910
121. TC 10/4/1911; PA 29/7/1911; PC 17/1/1914
122. Dakers, Caroline(1987) The Countryside at War 1914-1918, London, p.12
123. PA 20/4/1910: C 11/5/1910; PC 1/11/1910
124. Ibid., 18/1/1910, 6/12/1910
125. PA 12/1/1910; PC 29/11/1910, 21/7/1914
126. Ibid., 31/3/1914; PA 10/3/1914, 20/6/1914

127. C 21/1/1907; Rodger, Richard, p.43
128. C 12/1/1910
129. MS41/2(2/2/1910); C 26/9/1910, 12/10/1910; PC 8/11/1910
130. C 28/11/1910; PC 5/4/1910; MS41/2(10/1/1912); MS41/3 (25/9/1912, 10/9/1913)
131. PC 3/3/1914
132. PA 7/7/1912
133. C 22/8/1910, 20/7/1910
134. TC 8/12/1912, 26/2/1912, 17/6/1912; PC 22/2/1912
135. Ibid., 3/3/1914; PA 26/7/1910, 3/1/1914
136. C 22/4/1914; PC 14/2/1914, 9/6/1914
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138. PC 28/4/1908
139. Ibid., 3/11/1908
140. Ibid., 9/11/1909
141. POL1/8/1(22/1/1910)
142. PC 1/3/1910; C 16/3/1910; PA 6/4/1910
143. PC 11/10/1910, 25/10/1910
144. Ibid., 15/11/1910, 5/7/1910
145. Ibid., 22/11/1910
146. C 6/2/1911
147. TC 12/2/1912
148. PA 30/4/1913
149. Ibid., 24/5/1913, 31/5/1913; POL1/5/31(10/5/1913)
150. C 4/6/1913, 18/6/1913, 21/6/1913, 28/6/1913; POL1/5/31(2/6/1913)
151. C 20/10/1913, 19/11/1913, 24/11/1913
152. POL1/5/31(18/12/1913)
153. PC 13/1/1914; PA 14/1/1914
154. C 14/1/1914; PA 6/1/1914
155. PA 4/2/1914
156. POL1/5/31(17/3/1914, 2/3/1914)
157. POL1/14/2(3/6/1914); PC 23/6/1914
158. PA 1/7/1914; C 6/7/1914
159. PA 11/7/1914
160. Ibid., 11/7/1914
161. Ibid., 18/7/1914

162. PC 19/7/1914
163. C 20/7/1914; PC 21/7/1914; PA 22/7/1914
164. PC 28/7/1914
165. C 27/7/1914
166. PC 22/8/1911; C 11/9/1911
167. PC 24/10/1911
168. Ibid., 19/8/1913
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171. Ibid., 9/8/1910
172. Ibid., 1/11/1910
173. C 13/2/1911
174. PA 1/2/1911
175. TC 2/3/1911; PC 9/5/1911; PE1/14/2(14/6/1910)
176. Ibid., (11/6/1912)
177. TC 3/2/1913, 11/8/1913; PC 6/1/1914, 20/1/1914; PA 7/1/1914
178. PE1/14/2(12/8/1913); PC 27/1/1914
179. Ibid., 7/4/1914; PA 29/4/1914
180. Ibid., 15/7/1914
181. MS41/2(12/7/1910); TC 28/4/1910, 18/7/1910
182. Ibid., 6/6/1910
183. PA 29/4/1911; MS41/2(18/1/1911)
184. PA 17/5/1911
185. PC 22/8/1911; C 28/8/1911
186. Ibid., 12/11/1900
187. PC 24/10/1911
188. TC 6/2/1911, 23/3/1911; C 20/10/1909
189. TC 4/9/1911, 27/11/1911
190. PA 6/3/1912
191. Ibid., 17/2/1911
192. C 1/4/1912
193. PA 6/4/1912; C 15/4/1912
194. Ibid., 1/5/1912, 3/1/1912
195. TC 20/3/1912, 9/5/1912
196. C 6/1/1913; PC 28/1/1913

197. C 19/2/1913, 17/12/1913
198. PA 1/3/1913; C 3/3/1913
199. C 24/12/1913
200. Ibid., 3/3/1913, 23/3/1913, 7/4/1913, 21/4/1913, 26/5/1913, 10/12/1913
201. Ibid., 23/4/1913; PC 19/11/1913; MS41/3; C 16/6/1913, 9/7/1913
202. TC 19/3/1914, 18/5/1914, 23/7/1914; C 23/3/1914
203. Ibid., 27/4/1914; PC 10/3/1914, 7/4/1914, 9/6/1914
204. Ibid., 15/3/1910; Lynch, Michael(1991) Scotland: A New History, London, p.423
205. PC 27/1/1914
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207. PC 4/6/1912
208. MS41/31
209. PA 5/6/1912
210. PC 11/6/1912
211. C 12/6/1912
212. PC 28/1/1913; PA 20/1/1913
213. PC 15/10/1913
214. Ibid., 31/12/1913
215. C 1/9/1913
216. PA 29/11/1913
217. C 2/3/1914
218. Ibid., 14/1/1914
219. PA 14/2/1914
220. PC 21/12/1909, 3/1/1910; C 2/1/1911
221. Ibid., 1/1/1912, 25/11/1912
222. PC 3/1/1911
223. C 1/1/1913
224. PA 27/1/1912
225. PC 27/5/1913
226. C 11/8/1913
227. Ibid., 17/9/1913
228. PA 20/9/1913
229. Ibid., 7/2/1914
230. C 25/5/1914
231. Ibid., 6/3/1912

232. PC 8/3/1910
233. PE4/1/13; PA 13/4/1894, 29/1/1897, 17/11/1899
234. C 17/1/1910
235. Ibid., 4/11/1901; PC 11/1/1910
236. Ibid., 7/6/1910; C 27/6/1910; PA 19/10/1910
237. PC 31/5/1910; PA 26/1/1910
238. POL1/8/1(26/1/1914)
239. PA 28/1/1914, 4/12/1914, 24/6/1914, 8/7/1914

1914

The casual reader of the Perth Courier on Tuesday, 4 August, 1914 might well have missed the insignificant paragraph informing the public that the country was now involved in "A Dreadful War!" This is not surprising. After all, the headlines were more important: "SEWAGE SCHEME TO COST £250,000!" and "FOOTBALL SENSATION - T. PAXTON, HALF-BACK, SIGNED BY COWDENBEATH RATHER THAN PERTH!" Even Random Notes, a column specifically designed to keep readers abreast of foreign affairs, made no mention of an impending conflict on the continent. Indeed, in terms of inked space, the Errol Races, the problem of Scottish Home Rule and the Sweat Pea Exhibition in the City Hall commanded greater attention. Next day, the Constitutional and Perthshire Advertiser were equally restrained - "Britain at War!" Not that the editors were obtuse, but the Sarajevo Incident had taken place as far back as 28 June and seemed to be solely a Balkan matter. Again, there had been a spate of assassinations over the last decade and none of these had had serious repercussions for this country. Consequently, it took almost a week before Perth's editors realised that it was to be "THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR!"

The general public could not comprehend how Britain could possibly be involved and were anxious to hear the views of local dignitaries.(1) A few were hawks, like F. Norie-Miller of Cleeve, "We must fight now!" or Lord Dean of Guild Brown, "The Germans are asking for it." The majority were sadly reluctant, like the Earl of Kinnoull of Balhousie Castle, "It is our responsibility"; A.F. Whyte, MP., "It was inevitable"; Sir John A. Dewar, MP, "We can't avoid it"; the Rev. P.R. Landreth, "We must stand by our obligations." A few urged neutrality, like A. Wilkie, MP., and A.W. Ponsonby, MP., while some, like HarrG. Shields, warned of the cost, "It will threaten our Russian flax supplies and could kill the linen industry." Most citizens seemed to agree with the London Opinion: "The War might well be localised as the Balkans don't concern us. However, we must not support Russia.(2)

There was no indecision on the part of the military. Reservists and Territorials had long suspected that they would be needed in Ireland and they were quick to respond to the call for mobilization.(3) Within hours they were assembling at the Barracks or the Drill Hall in Tay Street with the 6BW or the ASC.(4) Although the activity was described as "stirring"

"stirring" and even "feverish" there were no signs in Perth "of that senseless form of patriotic imbecility known as mafficking."(5) Soon thousands of troops were making their way to Perth as the city was designated "a War Station." With the North and South Inches granted as "training areas for drilling and trench-digging" it was announced that an "expanded Army Pay Corps would be based in Perth", which was also to be "a major TA Centre."(6) The Barracks was quickly extended and the newly arrived 5Gordons billeted on civilians.(7) The army took over the swimming baths and the Liberal Club Room facilities were opened to the troops.(8) The county was immediately divided into Military Districts - Perth City, Perth Area, Inchture(Lowland) and Aberfeldy(Highland), while horses, horse collars, furniture vans, motor cars, pit props, blankets, field glasses, bloodhounds and Perth's only motor boat were commandeered. (9)

One other section of the community was quick off the mark - the grocery trade. They had not forgotten the food-scare in the city at the start of the South African War and, as in so many other areas, they generated a near-panic.(10) This they did by raising prices, the wealthy to buy as much food as their wallets could afford and their larders hold.(11) Soon prices soared, some by 100% - a lb sugar from 2d to 4d. Merchant said that they would ration supplies to 7lbs(2/4d), unless one had an account, then it was a maximum of two cwt(£3.14.8). John Clark, manager of the Perth Co-operative Society, shamefacedly confessed that he had no option but to do likewise.(12) However, he promised that he would consult his fellow-directors and try to set a ceiling for the cost of basic foodstuffs - oatmeal, flour and bread. Within hours these were: a stone of flour/ oatmeal up 6d to 2/6d, bread up ½d for a 4 lb loaf, mutton up 1d lb, ham up 2d lb, eggs up 2d a dozen to 1/6d.(13) Ironically, this produced an even greater rush to hoard and sugar could not be obtained in Perth for under 5d lb, nor butter for less than 1/8d lb. Worst of all was petrol, two gals of which rocketed overnight from 3/4d to 10/-.(14) Perth Trades Councilat once protested and demanded that maximum prices be published and a Citizens' Committee be formed to guard against exploitation.(15) Their concern was justified. Drugs, bandages, coal, house rents and clothing had all risen by 25%. In some parts of the city bread was actually 7d and there was "widespread distress" in working-class areas.(16) Some unscrupulous traders were even watering milk supplies to increase profits.

profits.(17)

Fortunately, the food-panic subsided as quickly as it had flared. In no small measure this was due to the newspapers which lashed "the selfish desire of wealthy people in laying up huge supplies of provisions." (18) Government too played its part. Horrified by the scandal of national greed it declared official price-levels: granulated sugar 4½d lb, lump sugar 5d lb, butter 1/6d lb, colonial cheese 9½d lb, bacon 1/3d lb and margarine 10d lb.(19) This brought a storm of protest to the Board of Trade.(20) Sugar, in theory, might cost 35/- cwt, but the "real cost" in Perth was 50/-. This spurred the Co-operative to announce, that from henceforth, their sugar would sell at 4d lb and their loaf at 6½d.(21) Perhaps as a gesture of contrition, Lipton's, the city's largest grocery, offered to pay its employees half-wages if they volunteered for the war. (22) By 18 August Canadian food-supplies arrived and before long "bread was cheap again."(23)

So far, to the average citizen, the war had meant little more than a series of cancellations - Perth Races, Hunt Balls, Scone Flower Show, Perth Highland Games, local football and rugby cup-ties.(24) He or she was almost certainly unaware of the highly sophisticated propaganda machine, operated by the nation's most creative minds, that was already at work exaggerating victories and minimising defeats.(25) Neither would they appreciate the significance of recently hurried legislation - the Defence of the Realm Act(DORA), nor the fact that the railways were now under the Board of Trade and that all civilian contracts had been cancelled.(26) Unless they were in business they were unlikely to know that there were restrictions on exports, so much so, that "any article could be seized and withheld from the market."(27) They no doubt guessed that trading with the enemy was illegal, but would they know that "profiteering" was too? Indeed, how many would even understand this concept? Hardly anybody understood the financial labyrinth of the War Loan Act, the Currency and Bank Notes(Amendment)Act, the Finance(Session 2)Act and Loan Issues, which authorised the State to borrow, almost without limit, cancel the Gold Standard, double Income-Tax and Super-Tax, raise duties on beer and tea as well as placing the nation in debt for decades to come.(29)

More mundane matters concerned the citizens - allotments had to be made more productive and a campaign,"Make Use of Your Garden", was launched;

launched; scrap iron had to be collected systematically; health panels had to be reorganised as young doctors and chenists left for the services; appeals had to be devised to encourage thrift; Cookery Advice Columns had to be written for the newspapers and warnings issued on the possibility of air-attacks.(30) Preparations also had to be made for military and civilian casualties; an ambulance train was prepared; the Old Northern District School was turned into a National Aid Society Hospital; the Sheriff Court became a "temporary hospital"; comfort parcels for the sick and wounded were collected and stored; Red Cross concerts were given in the City Hall to raise funds; the Old Infirmary became a Red Cross hospital and special beds were set aside for enteric fever victims. The city was ready.(31)

The BW were the first to leave for France "after days of free fags, free suppers and free smokers."(32) The 6BW were seen off by "dense crowds"; the 1BW(Reserves)to the strains of "Highland Laddie" and the 2BW(Reserves), a 1,000 strong, to shouts of "Smash the Germans!" and showers of white heather.(33) By 19 August they were in France.(34) The ASC had problems. Seriously under-manned they had to appeal for motor-drivers and storemen. (35) By early November, they too had gone.(36) The greatest effort however went into the formation of a new Mounted Highland Brigade of Scottish Horse, a task given to the Marquess of Tullibardine, MP., D.S.O..(37) Like many other units they lacked equipment and trained personnal and had no option but to scour the county in search of saddles and experienced blacksmiths under the age of 50.(38) By late October, even they were off.(39) Strangely, the most detailed information on troop movements appeared almost daily in the press: "60 troop trains pass through Perth every day"; "the Camerons are coming here"; "the Highland Division is to be based at Bedford"; "the Canadians have arrived in Perth"; "Dundee is to be a Submarine Base"; "2,000 Seaforths pass through Perth from Fort George"; and "another 5,000 troops are to be based here."(40) Before long Perth was known as "the Aldershot of the North."(41)

Newspapers were irresponsible in other ways. Granted that they had an obligation to keep up morale, stimulate patriotism, denigrate the enemy, justify the war and encourage recruiting, but they published every rumour that they heard and some they even created, as if they were gospel truth. Thus, every week, they glowingly described some far-off, nameless, imaginery, naval victory.(42) They shamelessly exploited stories about "the Russian Steamroller" of eight million men, who were not only reported fighting

fighting in France, Belgium, East Prussia and Galicia, but were actually in the suburbs of Berlin.(43) They painted dramatic pictures of life in Germany and a people demoralised, typhoid-stricken, suffering unemployment and starvation led by a Kaiser, who was terminally ill.(44) Their most ridiculous line of argument was that the powerful German army was composed of cowardly misfits, crippled by dysentery and commanded by arrogant, drunken officers, who abused white flags, raped women, mutilated children and were cruel to prisoners.(45) Any genuine report from France that praied the enemy's courage, ingenuity and kindness had little chance of publication.(46)

The consequence of such reporting was the conviction that Scotland would soon be invaded by a rapacious foe. After all, enemy warships had been seen off the Tay and a U-boat sunk in the Forth.(47) Some in Fife were already positive that there had been a landing at Largo Bay.(48) As for Perth, everybody knew that Perth was the next target.(49) Because of this crowds flocked to see the film in the BB Cinema, "If Britain were invaded" and avidly read articles by "experts" on "How an Invasion would Develop" and "What Invasion Means."(50) Soon, Crieff, Blairgowrie and Perth all had Town Guards.(51) Perth's "Citizen Organization", led by Dean of Guild Brown, was only for men over 30. It made "poor progress" because of lack of volunteers. Those who did were usually nearer 70 and were derisively called "The OAP's" or "The Balhousie Militia" because they trained in the grounds of Balhousie Castle firing at cartoon figures of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince.(52) Another fear encouraged by the press was "The New Warfare" - attacks from the air. Bombing raids on London and Paris were reported in gruesome detail and consequently "Monster Zeppelins" were reported as "flying over Perth virtually every night."(53) The image of "death from the skies", more than anything else, persuaded the public that the Kaiser was "a War Criminal and should be deported to St. Helena after the War."(54)

One topic, so beloved by the press, degenerated into open hysteria - "THE BIG HUNT FOR SPIES!"(55) As in other communities this took a real grip on Perth.(56) Alarmist articles and editorials soon convinced the citizens that there really was a "SPY DANGER" and that spies were everywhere.(57) Of particular concern was the threat of sabotage to the city's water supplies. To meet this possibility the Town Council called out its 30 High Constables, armed with batons, to guard the reservoirs of View-

Viewlands, Burghmuir and Muirhall. Because they had not seen "active service" since 13 May, 1852 against arsonists they came in for a good deal of ridicule as costly and useless. But a sharp editorial rebuke from the Perth Courier put an end to this: "It cannot be said that this duty is either superfluous or without danger." By mid-November they had to have telephones and stoves installed and be paid 5/- a day.(58) National hysteria was fuelled by prominent men like Lord Charles Beresford, who claimed, "There are thousands of German spies in the United Kingdom. Remember, every German is a potential spy!"(59) This was a sentiment echoed by Perth's Norie-Miller: "British aristocrats might be spies as so many are German-related."(60) No wonder wild stories abounded. Who fired on the steamer "La Belle" from Dundee Esplanade? Who fired shots at a sentry in Meigle? Who was the suspicious character in Perth asking about the Royal Navy? Who tried to wreck a train on the Tay Bridge?(61) Then "OHMS" in the BB Cinema simply made things worse - it was a spy film.(62) Mistakes were bound to happen: the American student arrested in Tay Street for asking where Scone Palace was on the map; the Englishman "with the Kaiser moustache" detained by the police; the Perth man apprehended in Montrose while on holiday; the drunk on the train who pulled the communication cord "because he had seen spies"; and the besotted ASC recruit off to Bedford who attacked his fellow-passengers whom he suspected of spying.(63) But, sometimes it was justified: the 18 year old Robert Blackburn of Liverpool who sold a plan of the Mersey Docks to the German Embassy; Lody, a spy, shot in the Tower of London; Ernst, the Islington barber, who got seven years at the Old Bailey for spying; and Nicholas Ahler, another spy, who was sentenced to death.(64) This last case convinced many people that there really were spies in their vicinity - Ahler had once lived in Methven.(65) The national view was summed up by the Daily Mail on 16 October: "The German spy network is so wide, so extraordinarily efficient, so immensely dangerous, that it cannot be too severely repressed."

The excitement intensified with the arrival of the Belgians. At first most people repeated the words of Asquith, "Brave Belgium", and looked forward to seeing the victims of German "Schrecklichkeit."(66) They eagerly read books about their guests' history, attended talks on their culture, tried Walloon recipes and donated money to the Belgian Relief Fund.(67) It was a great disappointment when the first to appear, greeted at the railway station by the Earl of Mansfield and French-speaking Lady Georgina

Georgina Drummond, were dispersed to Muthill, Pitlochry, Monzie and Dunblane.(68) In fact, the first to come to Perth itself were Belgian soldiers, some shell-shocked and some maimed, who were lodged in the Old Infirmary in York Place. Before the year ended no fewer than 172 had been treated there and their plight earned them a wide range of gifts and "cinematograph treats" from the citizens.(69) The sudden arrival of some 40 Belgian civilian refugees, including children, in mid-October, aroused "an enthusiastic reception."(70) Although their names were hard to pronounce - Skigipek, Leernputten, Terweduere, Delarq, Verlagen - their tales of fiendish German atrocities thrilled their listeners.(71) There were stories of butchered children at Salins and cruel mass-rapes at Malines, not to mention descriptions of their homeland "infested with spies."(72) Overcome with pity the people of Perth laid on special treats for them, while local girls knitted comforts and the Town Council organised flag-days and concerts.(73) Their numbers grew and by mid-November there were 76 of them, all supported by the Town Council. With interpreters in short supply Canon Welsh and Father Cotter took the lead in finding them accommodation in St. Johnston House, Rose Terrace; St. Mary's Monastery, Kinnoull; Stormont Street Convent and St. John's Restaurant, St. John's Street.(74) A few were even placed in splendid mansions - Mon. Evrand at Rio, Mon. Vaern at Keir and Mon. de Coster at Cleeves.(75) The arrival of a further 37 refugees and their billeting in yet more fine villas - Inveravon and The Beeches - was too much for some. They were already weary of "German rape and murder" recitations, which, all too often, bordered on the absurd, as when a Liege woman claimed to have routed 2,000 Uhlans with nothing more than a pot of hot water.(76) There was talk in the city of the Belgians "expecting to get a big house, rent free and fit for a King merely by asking."(77) Soon there were demands that no more be accepted, in part because many of them had been given jobs at Friarton Glass Works.(78) The situation was no different at Crieff where there were 63 of them.(79)

Parallel to the fear of spies was the attitude to aliens in general. When the war started the people of Perth had little real animosity to the Germans. For instance, there were no demonstrations of racial hatred when the first prisoners of war, 19 trawlermen sent from Inverness, shuffled in chains from the railway station to vans bound for Perth Penitentiary.(80) There was even sympathy for them. Again, when reports came to the city of

of the physical assaults on Germans and Austrians by mobs in London and Newcastle many expressed disgust.(81) However, the stories spread by the Belgians and the experiences of local people trapped on the continent changed their attitude.(82) Francis E. Drummond-Hay of Seggieden, Consul in Danzig, reported that he had been "detained by menacing crowds" in Stettin, while Mr. and Mrs. C.A. Zimmerman of Cornhill Terrace, had been arrested in Berlin and robbed in Hamburg. Although the Police Register of Aliens shows that there were only 11 foreigners in Perth at that time - 10 Germans and one Austrian - it was editorials against "German crime and mendacity" and reports of dum-dum bullets and ravaged libraries that really sowed the seeds of hatred.(83)

By now some regarded all aliens as "malevolent" and they had their windows broken. Despite the fact that the majority of the public still regarded them as "rather inoffensive" the foreigners were now too scared to venture far from home.(84) Convinced that Austrian troops "had used women and children as shields at the Battle of Dvina" there was an instant wave of fear when it was reported that a certain Joseph Capek, Austrian waiter at the Palace Hotel, Pitlochry had been found with a gun. Even the fact that it was only a licensed hunting-rifle did not save him from being charged with a breach of Section 23, Alien Registration Order(1914). Ironically, his ability to pay the £25 fine on the spot made many think that this was certain proof of his guilt.(85) The State now exercised its powers through the Aliens Restrictions Act and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act. The former restricted their movements, while the latter limited the type of property they could own.(86) Arrests were now common and Perthshire was "swept" in late September.(88) Seven were arrested in Callander, St. Fillans, Pitlochry(an hotelier and son), Crieff (a lecturer) and six more in Dundee. All were taken to Perth Penitentiary.(89) In Perth there were six other arrests - five Germans and an Austrian - two bottle-workers, a waiter, chef, barber and baker. They were all sent to Redford Barracks, Edinburgh for interrogation.(90)

Here again, many mistakes were made, such as the arrest of Edward Wolfsohn, who, despite his name, was an American citizen. Nevertheless, he was still fined £81.(91) Occasionally, there was a flash of compassion, as when four elderly Germans from Portobello, "a protected area", were permitted to earn their living in Perth as bottle-workers.(92) Usually, there

Usually, there was just unnecessary harrassment, as when dental surgeon Liebow and music professor Helman had their places of work occupied by troops.(93) Such incidents eventually came to the attention of the German authorities and a formal protest was lodged.(94) Of course, not all aliens were pliable and docile. On the Isle of Man, at the Aliens' Camp, some 4,000 inmates rioted at a cost of five dead and 12 injured. Their ring-leader, Kurt Vausch, was sentenced to five years' jail.(95) Some of the anti-German sentiments were downright silly - the musicians who smashed German pianos and the clerics who denounced the Kaiser as "the Anti-Christ." (96) Despite all this, a fair number of Perth people seem to have kept their sense of humour, rather like the letter-writer in the Perth Courier on 25 August: "I suppose that Frau Gretchen Schlosherkratz(a famous Berlin soprano)will be forbidden to appear on a British platform unless she wears a MacGregor tartan frock and alters her name to Mrs. Maggie MacSporran." But distrust extended far beyond the Germans. There were two stranded Russian timber-schooners in Perth harbour in "destitute circumstances" and their crews, continually drunk, turned to thieving and ended up in prison. (97) So much for allies thought the good folk of Perth.

There was one aspect of life which reacted quickly to the impact of war and that was fashion. For men, formal dress - top hat and frock coat - disappeared almost overnight. For women, the change was slower, but equally dramatic - clinging garments, theatrical hats and turbans, masses of hair, lethal hairpins, hobble-skirts and high-necked collars gave way to simpler, cheaper and more practical styles, even khaki shirts and tricolour ties.(98) Patriotism became the in-word for society. There were patriotic evenings in the City Hall and "Union Jack Days" in the suburbs. Sunday sermons were usually on "The Nature of Patriotism" or "Military Service as a Duty."(99) Newspapers, when they were not expounding how glorious and heroic war could be, sold war-maps for 1/- and gave "day-to-day reports on the war situation."(100) But there was a commercial side to the patriotism. Cairncross, jeweller, advertised "patriotic brooches", while McEwen, fashion store, appealed to the public "to buy dresses so that we can keep full employment of staff."(101) Most small businesses simply labelled their products "British Made" and hoped for the best.(102) Libraries recommended books like "With French at the Front" or "Mastery of the Air", while enthusiastic, amateur poets churned out reams of rubbish -

rubbish - "Wipe them out!" by David Sinclair and "Onward, Gallant Black Watch!" by James Carson.(103) The clergy found it the hardest to adapt despite a stream of "Prayers for Peace." A few of them volunteered for service at the Front, but for the rest, astonishingly, old animosities lingered and Roman Catholic priests refused to join their Protestant colleagues in a Christian Service.(104) Some harangued their flocks on "The Approach to Armageddon", others let fantasy go to their heads: "The effect of the War will be a temperate society and one of industrial peace: everything could become perfect and new!"(105) There were even some who seemed to regress to medievalism and saw something sinister in the chimes of St. John's Kirk "not running smoothly" or found comfort in a 1657 prediction that proved that "the Kaiser was, without doubt, the Devil!"(106) As one would expect large numbers of the congregations found a better hope in astrology.(107)

There were also serious social problems in late 1914 and the greatest of these involved drink. The army had anticipated this early. At the start of the war a Colonel Hamilton had asked Perth Licensing Court to order the closure of pubs. They agreed to do so, but only from 6pm on Wednesday, 5 August to 10am on Friday, 7 August.(108) When that day arrived an even more senior officer, Colonel MacIntosh, CO, No. 1 District, asked again. This time the Court agreed to close the pubs at 1pm on Saturday, 8 August. Still not satisfied the army then sent Major-General C. J. Mackenzie, CB., CO Highland Division, to ask for a two-week closure at 8pm. By now the Court resented the army interference and simply granted one week's closure. Suddenly, the army's worst fears erupted - the Police Court was flooded with "cases of drunken excesses by troops."(109) The army persisted with their policy "even if it caused discontent among some units."(110) On Friday, 14 August Captain Lyle, Assistant Provost Marshall demanded pub closures at 5pm so that soldiers could clear the city. Although this request was backed by the Chief Constable the Court would only accept 6pm "on condition that public houses are not declared out of bounds." They also promised to reconsider the matter every week. Sadly, it did not work. The police now disclosed the disturbing news that the traditional, drunken, female vagrant was now joined regularly by respectable female weavers.(111) The military then confessed that all too often troops were too drunk to march, that they were continually attacking the

the police and were "even breaking out of Barracks in search of drink." (112) "Hordes of girls" were said to have descended on the two Inches to taunt the troops as they trained and requests went out for "Women Patrols." (113) Many were now convinced that it was time to follow the example of Russia and ban drink for the duration. "Big meetings" throughout the city demanded prohibition.(114) Statistics appeared - 20% of the new patients at Murray Royal Asylum had drink-related illnesses; that the cost for the nation annually was 32,000 lives; that £165 million was spent every year on alcohol, of which Dundee alone spent £10,000 weekly.(115) By 8 October the Intoxicating Liquor(Temporary Restrictions)Act was in force. This spurred the Temperance Association to demand a cut in drink sales on the grounds of evidence provided by the Association for the Protection of Women and Children that the streets of Perth were unsafe at night. Thus, they argued, pubs should all close at 8pm. The Licensing Court refused. the local magistrates were much to blame. If a drunken thug, charged with wrecking a bar and assaulting customers, turned up in his regimentals he was usually discharged.(116) Little wonder such cases brought a reprimand from the Under-Secretary of State. This encouraged the Perth and District Association for the Protection of Women and Children to join with "the ladies and workers of the Perth churches" to again stress "the conditions of the streets of Perth at night and fears for the young women of the town." They told of publicans who allowed "back-door drinking" after 10pm and the many sad stories of "dirty and verminous children left alone by drunken mothers wasting the allowance-money sent to them by their husbands in France."(117) The drink trade was furious. They countercharged that "early closing was bad for morale."(118) But the problem would not go away and actually got worse with the arrival of each troop-train carrying soldiers on leave.(119) There was nothing for it but to launch a temperance crusade in the city with "A Petition to the Government from the Churches of Perth" that excessive drinking was "not only unpatriotic, but was helping the enemy."(120) That did it. Within hours a glass of beer in Perth rose by ½d to 2d, a schooner by 1d to 3d, a bottle of beer from 1d to 4d and an imperial pint of beer or stout to 4d.(121) Sensing victory the Rev. W. Lee and the Rev. J. Adie demanded "Prohibition Now!", while Norie-Miller, through the press, warned that "loose, drunken tongues help spies."(122) Although the publications moaned that "the

"the whisky trade was depressed" the Chief Constable and Sheriff Johnston agreed to act and closed the pubs at 9pm. They went further. Magistrates now warned that licenses would be cancelled if any drunks were found on their premises.(123)

Another social problem was poverty. The August food-panic had produced disturbing headlines: "PERTH FEELS THE PINCH OF WAR - WILL DISTRESS BECOME ACUTE?"(124) Clearly, the families of serving soldiers were most at risk and the Town Council feared that many were "already at the begging stage."(125) With only 12/6d weekly for a wife and 2/6d per child there were bound to be hardships involving food and rent, so much so that the Trades' Council, fully aware of the temptation to buy drink, suggested that food tokens replace money.(126) On 10 November the Perth Courier, in the face of the rapidly increasing number of widows and orphans, asked, "IS THE POORHOUSE ADEQUATE PROVISION?" An agitated Town Council unanimously agreed to petition Government for "at least 20/- a week to dependents of men killed in the Forces."(127) Although Separation Allowances were soon available under Circular No. V, 1914, heartless landlords refused to ease the problem and Perth School Board was forced to open a Feeding Centre for Children at 106, South Street.(128) Fortunately, the Prince of Wales' National Relief Fund was active in Perth having received £1,000 from Sir John A. Dewar and another £1,000 from the GA. In fact, by early September the Fund had almost £2 million at its disposal.(129)

Amidst all this social turmoil great stress was laid on "normality" and the Town Council, after announcing their policy of "full pay, if called up" to its employees, strove to abide by it.(130) It was not easy with a huge drop in revenue and the absence of 23 key men not to mention councillors. Still, they debated the purchase of a new fire-engine, two new dust-carts, a replacement for the city's refuse destructor, better lighting for the streets and more telephone boxes.(131) They even discussed contingency plans for the post-war period.(132) Some things, of course, never changed - valndals still smashed telephone insulators, motorists still "scorched", female vagrants still drank in the streets and poachers were still out after dark.(133) There was still undustrial unrest, although it was muted, among horse-shoers and painters and the occasional threat of a strike from the police.(134) Amusements and entertainments, so essential for morale, changed little except for the huge numbers of men in uniform. Mr. Saville at Perth Theatre delighted his audiences with "Her Dreadful Secret", Char-

"Charlie's Aunt" and "Captain Drew on Leave", while Clara Butt attracted immense crowds to her evening concerts.(135) The cinemas, so short of visual material from the Front, fell back on a sequence of biblical epics, "The Photo Drama of Creation", historical themes, "The Battle of Shiloh" or patriotic topics, "The Voice of Empire."(136) It was only in November that contemporary films, "To Arms!" and "Lord Kitchener's New Army" became available.(137) People of all classes now queued to enjoy the visual stimulation, a factor not lost on local entrepreneurs, who clamoured for licences to build new picture houses.(138) In poor contrast were the traditional lantern exhibitions laid on by Kodak Supply Stores.(139)

As for business and trade, house-building came to an abrupt stop, through shortage of men and materials, and although some sectors panicked, "there was no rush on the banks in Perth."(140) Only the General Accident suffered when its Antwerp offices were looted by the enemy.(141) At home, the fluctuating bank rate "puzzled and concerned" the business community as it made it difficult to peg the pound sterling to the US dollar.(142) Despite the slogan "Business as Usual" there was an element of "industrial paralysis", especially at the harbour. Some local hotels closed down and Campbell's Confectionary Works, because of the scarcity of sugar, threatened to do the same.(143) the loss of skilled men was the most serious factor: the General Accident(insurance) lost 55; Lumsden of Huntingtowerfield(linen) lost 28 and Dewar and Sons(whisky) lost 23.(144) At the latter, John Dewar himself went off to the Scottish Horse after promising that the jobs of volunteers would be held, and, if married, their families protected.(145) Moncrieff's North British Glass Works admitted that they were "reasonably confident about their prospects" as were the dyers, Garvie and Deas, both with confirmed government contracts.(146) Shields' Wallace Works(linen), on the other hand, was filled with gloom. It relied on foreign markets and it had no large stocks in store. Again, 30 of its best weavers were gone.(147) At first, it closed for a day or two, but after consultation with colleagues in Dunfermline the management re-opened with a three-day week.(148) Soon this was four days. Desperately short of flax and with many of his looms idle Shields allowed his spinners to package Red Cross bundles. Coates' Balhousie Works shut down their twine and carpet-manufacture departments and put the rest of the Works on short-time. With the departure of 15 of their men they petitioned Government to suspend the Patents Act and cancel all German rights. This was a plea joined by

by Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks, also on short time.(149) Deeply worried about possible rail dislocation they nevertheless encouraged staff to collect clothing for the Belgian refugees.(150) The potential collapse of normal rail links was also the main concern of P. and P. Campbell, Dyers and Cleaners, who were still on full time. With their markets solely in the UK they gloomily forecast "a lot of mourning work" despite the shortage of dyes.(151) By November a quarter of their work-force had left for the forces and their girls were knitting flannel bed-shirts and jackets for the wounded. But it was the effect of the war on Perth's largest firm that really worried the community. Trade had been "dull" at John Pullar and Sons, Dyers and Cleaners, in the earlier part of the year, but RD Pullar, chairman, had predicted that "future prospects were bright!" (152) They too had a home-market. However, on the first day of war "100 of their brightest and best", Reservists and Territorials, had gone off to fight. RD Pullar, perhaps to counter snide remarks about his family's German links, said he was "glad to see them go."(153) He then donated the firm's three large motor vans to the military and gifted the Parcel Post store in Carpenter Street to the Red Cross. Even the Workers' Rest Room was turned into "the Black Watch Club and Recreation Room" where soldiers could enjoy hot meals, gramophone and piano music.(154) He even bought 2,500 cuts of wool for his girls to knit comforts - 1,326 pairs of socks, 325 helmets and 85 belts - 1,736 bundles. With each went a gift of soap from the firm, cigarettes and white heather from the girls together with their names and addresses. Before long the feared dislocation of rail traffic took place and Pullars had to go on short time. RD was not downcast, he had ample stocks of dyes and big government orders were bound to lead to a boom in dyeing before long.(155) However, he was losing men at an alarming rate - by 24 August no fewer than 118 - 57 to 6BW, 24 ASC, 23 Scottish Horse, 5 Army Reserve, 3 Highland Cyclist Corps, 2 RAMC and one each to Transport, Yeomanry, Naval Reserve and Royal Scots.(156) By 26 August it was 130 and by 14 November it was 170. As in other firms senior staff went too: HS Pullar to the Scottish Horse, GD Pullar to the 6BW and JL Pullar to the 4BW.(157) The entire Pullar family did their bit - AE Pullar helped at recruiting rallies and gathered money for ambulances - "The Fair Maid of Perth" and "Hal o' the Wynd."(158) RM Pullar devoted himself to the welfare of the Belgian refugees. The Pullar womenfolk vis-

visited the wounded and organised concerts. Fortunately, dry-cleaning coped well thanks to massive coal stocks at Tulloch, but as early as 7 October it was obvious that a dye famine was near. Two weeks later it hit Perth and dyes thereafter "were in short supply."(159) RD strongly supported the theme of "business as usual", but argued that after the war Britain should make its own dyes to beat the German monopoly.(160) It was the start of many trips south to the Board of Trade in an attempt to set up a joint stock company for aniline dyes.(161)

Casualty figures from Mons were released near the end of August, but it was a month before details were known.(162) Tragically, some had only been weeks in uniform, others had only married hours before departure.(163) Soon severely wounded were hospitalized at Coupar Angus, Aberdeen and Ochtertyre House, by Crieff.(164) Many of these were to die from their wounds, but it was the horrifying number listed as "Missing" which caused most upset.(165) Death did not discriminate as to class; the Master of Kinnaird, a captain in the Scots Guards and major Lord Charles Mercer were listed as KIA along with a Forgandenny postman and a Crieff shepherd.(166) But it was the 6BW that most concerned the people of Perth. They knew that they had had their baptism of fire at Mons and they had read that they were "cheery amid flyinng shells", "terrifying the Germans with the bayonet" and "leading a stirrup charge at Mons!"(167) They were proud of the decorations they had won and they marvelled at their endurance in the Flemish winter.(168) However, none could ignore the truth - many of the Reservists were now dead, including their Commanding Officer, Lt. Col. A. Grant Duff.

The army began the process of raising 100,000 volunteers as early as 25 August. Three days later, they asked for another 100,000.(169) By the end of September 500,000 had volunteered and by the end of the year 1,186,000.(170) Perth played its part. Festooned with posters and banners the city began to build its own "CITIZEN ARMY."(171) Almost every member of the County Cricket Club together with dozens of junior footballers came forward.(172) The local gentry offered their services in the form of personal appeals - His Grace, the Duke of Atholl, Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire, Lady Tullibardine, Lady Dewar and many others. But it was the unexpected news of the Retreat from Mons in early September that brought the realization that a mighty effort would ne needed to end the war as promised by Christmas and the press responded with a passionate "CALL TO ARMS!"(173) Every week recruiting parties, like 18th century press-gangs, combed the countryside

Recruits
Urgently

countryside describing "the rosy life of the soldier" and urging enlistment before the war ended.(174) In the City Hall rallies had "scenes of the wildest enthusiasm and emotion" as men actually struggled with each other to take the King's Shilling, in what the press called "ANOTHER GREAT DEMONSTRATION AND RECRUITING DRIVE."(175) In one week as many as 672 recruits presented themselves at the Barracks and 35 of them had come from Wales.(176) Some families - Wiltshires, McCabes and Sinclairs - sent four sons apiece.(177) Men poured in from Abernethy, Balbeggie, Methven and in less than six weeks 64,444 had enlisted in Scotland. By late September no part of the county could escape a full-scale recruiting-drive.(178) The first, well-organised recruiting drive in Perth, complete with parades, banners and famous orators, was held on the North Inch on 26 October. In the heady excitement 60 men offered themselves to the Colours, proud to see their names printed in the press.(179) In November, every household in the city received a recruiting circular announcing that the army would now take "bantams" of 5'3". This brought a further 136 Perth men into the net.(180) Local churches, caught up in the fever, actually placed adverts in the newspapers boasting of the number of their congregations "gone off to war." For the United Free Church alone there were - 66 from St. Paul's, 57 West, 53 North. Rural Perthshire rushed to compete - Forgandenny UF 1, Kinclaven UF 2, Logiealmond UF 3. Parishes vied with each other to rush men into uniform - Blair Atholl 61, Balquidder 32 and Collace 10.(181) Even schools were not immune and by late December 211 FP's from Perth Academy were off.(182) By Christmas some rural areas were almost denuded of young men - Bankfoot had given 78, Braco 41 and even remote Rannoch 35. But not all were patriotic. As early as November Random Notes was deploring the fact that "Perth possesses quite a number of able-bodied shirkers."

This enfuriated a certain type of middle-class lady and in packs they searched high and low for "dodgers."(183) The issue divided the community, but most thought "that giving white feathers to young men an insane idea of hysterical females." Even the authorities were alarmed and issued a statement "deploring such unofficial recruiting methods."(184) They preferred men inspired by patriotism or evn a desire for excitement. They would even accept men desperate to escape boring jobs or those pressured by their employers to enlist.(185) Some volunteers found it hard to forget their thieving habits while in uniform, but all too often their fines were paid for them by patriots or else they were simply admonished.(186)

admonished.(186) Others found that their courage failed them at the sight of a vaccination needle and they were sent home. Of course, "bogus heroes" were common as they cadged free drinks or flirted with the girls. They, in sharp contrast, got little mercy from the courts.(187) The same was true for deserters. D Block in Perth Penitentiary was reserved for military offenders and there were plenty of them.(188) Not surprisingly, as early as November, some newspapers were asking the question, "Should there be conscription?"(189)

As the year drew to a close the Perth Courier reviewed the previous five months.(190) It tried to comfort them with the consolation that things had not been as bad as had been anticipated - "there had been no sustained increase in the cost of food, no run on the banks, no massive business failures, no higher unemployment, no air-raids, no starvation, no looting and no rioting." What it failed to list was the growing sense of realism in the city - the scepticism towards "the news of what is done on the battlefield, details so trivial, so foolish"; the awareness of "the dreary rubbish being published"; the realisation that "the National Anthem is absurd and flat"; the belief that "the War is creating a more democratic society."(191) The fire had gone out of newspaper reports and the enemy were "Germans" again rather than "Huns" and the supposed letters from the Front no longer spoke of "killing Germans like rats" or "mowing down the German hordes" or "our troops more like mad Zulus than human beings."(192) There was no more about "the German guns having as much effect on us as a daisy air rifle."(193) Clearly, the novelty of war was wearing off.(194)

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1915

The city was now a gigantic armed camp with thousands of soldiers milling around, some training for the Front, others recuperating from wounds and most enjoying their leave. All shared the conviction that their life expectancy was limited and were determined to cram as much excitement into their remaining days as they could. Such an attitude created serious problems for both military and civil authorities. For the former, there was the loss of control over supposedly disciplined units, for the latter, there was the clear drop in moral standards.

The worst offenders were the Scottish Horse, described by the Constitutional on 6 January as "a damned nuisance due to drink." A view which provoked the editor to predict that "1915 is going to be a drunken year." When asked for an explanation for their outrageous behaviour, their Commanding Officer, Lord Tullibardine, condemned "the City's lack of facilities and floods of undesirable women." The Town Council were quick to refute this: "The charges are unwarranted and should be retracted."(1) Tullibardine refused and in a press interview asserted that "Perth does nothing to keep my men from pubs and bad women."(2) This was too good a chance to miss and the Perth Courier editorial asked the key question: "ARE WOMEN OF CITY IMMORAL?" Naturally, the editorial denied this and urged that Tullibardine be charged with slander. At this stage some church leaders intervened to lower the temperature. They suggested that the root of the matter lay in the large numbers of bored troops in Perth and Scone.(3) But the more outspoken UF Presbytery would have none of it. They thought that the Scottish Horse deserved condemnation. Police investigations showed otherwise. Far too many publicans were refusing to close their premises as they should, at 9pm, and were encouraging late-night drinking.(4) Their motive was obvious - they had never made so much money before. By February, the position had worsened.(5) A campaign was launched by the National Patriotic Pledge against Drink with the slogan - "Drink too much - get drunk - help the enemy!" Neither this nor massive demonstrations had any effect. Indeed, further police reports suggested that there was a surge in bigamous marriages in the Perth area, which the culprits, when charged, put down to excessive drink.(6) The self-elected guardians of public morality now entered the scene.(7) After excited meetins in various church halls, groups of "respectable, middle-class church

church ladies" decided to form a "moral watch" and patrol the streets at night. This proved to be a dangerous undertaking. The streets were full of noisy, unkempt soldiers, reeling from drink as they pursued tipsy mill girls and hard-faced harlots drawn to the city by easy money. Eye-witness reports by the se ladies made embarrassing reading for the army and worried by the adverse publicity the Provost Marshall ordered the Military Police to clear all the pubs of troops by 7pm. Again, the editor of the Perth Courier asked a pertinent question: "Why not put the pubs out of bounds? It's done elsewhere."(8) Teachers added a warning that there had been an enormous increase in juvenile smoking and pleaded that this too be banned. The police, however, confessed that with their current powers they simply could not stop "back-door drinking."(9) They also disclosed that the railway refreshment room was being abused in the same way. The news that many soldiers were so drunk that they missed their trains brought more calls for "PROHIBITION IN THE CITY!"(10) This threat made the publicans strive harder to close by 10pm at least.(11) One interesting statistic emerged - the city had never had so many applications for licences from would-be publicans and this simply made the job of the police more difficult. There was another dimension - gambling. Douce citizens were appalled to see crowds of soldiers playing pontoon and crown and anchor on the Inches, which always finished up with fist-fights.(12) The fact that the worst offender in the city was the Barracks canteen convinced many that it was "now time to appeal to DORA."(13)

This did not please the army at all and they were no doubt delighted when the news broke that the New Kings Cinema would open on 12 May. Senior officers recommended this "innocent amusement" to their men and were convinced that the drink problem would disappear. Within days they realised that they were wrong. In fact, "Intemperance among soldiers is steadily increasing."(14) A last effort to control the situation was made - raise prices - a glass of whisky to 6d, and a bottle of Special Whisky from 2/6d to 6/6d.(15) There was still no improvement and by June it was realised that something really drastic was needed. Lloyd George was said to be considering buying out the drinks industry because of its devastating effect on absenteeism, but found the prospect too costly. There was one alternative left - the establishment of a Central Control Board(Liquor Traffic). By mid-June DORA had closed all the city pubs by 7pm.(16) Drink prices suddenly soared again - whisky to 9d a gill, brandy 8d a glass and gin 5d a

a glass and 4/- a bottle.(17) Licensing hours were also cut and the beers diluted.(18) The YMCA, YWCA, Salvation Army and Church Army all celebrated. (19) Drunkenness fell away as did the number of convictions in the courts. (20) It was not till August that the issue flared again when it was discovered that the "walking wounded" were getting drunk on the spirits bought for them by admiring civilians anxious to hear their tales of warfare.(21) This was an area which seemed to be beyond the powers of Liquor Control, but in an attempt to limit the damage pubs were officially told that they could only open from 12 noon to 2.30pm and from 6pm to 9pm weekdays.(22) As for week-ends, they were restricted to the hours from 2pm to 7pm. By October there was even a "No Treating Order" - no civilian in a hotel, restaurant, pub or club was to have a drink without purchasing a meal.(23) The pressure on drinkers increased as the winter drew near - as in France, no spirits were to be sold in the city outwith the hours 12 noon to 12. 30pm and 6.30pm and 9.30pm Mondays to Fridays.(24) More duties were imposed, prices raied further and beer diluted again. In the city the extra 3d on a bottle of whisky brought squeals of protest from local publicans.(25) They were not stupid. They fought back with a clever tactic which damaged the relationship between the army and the community. They argued that the regulations imposed by the Central Board(Liquor Traffic) were a breach of local byelaws. A clash seemed inevitable.(26)

There had been signs as early as February that the Town Council were getting fed up with the never-ending demands of the military. For instance, the CO of HQ Company, Highland Division Train informed the Town Council that he wanted the Large City Hall immediately as a billet for the ASC.(27) Rather annoyed, the Town Council responded with a demand that the army pay 3d/man/night, pointing out that this venue was the biggest hall in the city and as such the main source of civic income. The army refused. The Town Council was then forced to accept 2d/man/ night. The public at large were not really concerned about the matter because of the build-up in troop movements. Everybody knew that the 4BW (Dundee)had been ordered to France to join with the 1BW and the 2BW.(28) Something was brewing and the BW were going to be heavily involved. March brought news of the bloody battle of Neuve Chapelle and the now customary long casualty lists in the newspapers. The army in Perth, meanwhile, had now decided not to pay the agreed rate for the Large City Hall and instead offered a lump sum of £5.10/-(29) The Town Council,

Council, realising that the military were spending vast sums daily in the city, agreed. Yet, two weeks later the ASC had changed its mind and would go elsewhere.(30) The Town Council pointed out that they could hardly control their expenditure unless they had a regular income. The army accepted this. HQ Company of the Highland Division Train decided that they would accept the Large City Hall.(31) However, after inspecting the premises, they decided that it was too big for their needs and they asked for the Lesser City Hall for which they offered only £2.10/-(32) When the Town Council protested at this constant change, the army said that they had to cut costs. The focus of dispute then shifted abruptly to Charlotte Street.(33) Here, Brig-General Stockwell, OC Highland Division, had his office and from here he announced to the press that "Perth is suitable as a centre for troop concentration." This statement puzzled the Town Council - what could it mean? After all, there were already large numbers of troops in the city. When approached for clarification Stockwell said "the decision has been cancelled!"(34)

Another flashpoint, almost comical given the backcloth of war, revolved around the right of members of the Army Pay Corps to get admission into the local Baths for 2d. It sparked off a considerable amount of resentment for a few days, that is until frenzied troop movements in the city made the public realize that another "Big Push" was coming.(35) Everybody was talking about the transfer of the Crieff TA to Bedford to join up with the 51st Highland Division and the departure of the 5BW(Forfar), 6BW(Perth) and the 7BW(Fife) to join the 8BW and the 9BW.(36) Where could they be going? The public soon knew - Festubert.(37) Once again, there were pages of "DEAD, MISSING, WOUNDED, PRISONERS OF WAR." By June the Town Council were complaining about the number of horses which the army had picketed on the South Inch.(38) The army replied was that "picket-in-open" was standard practice. A few weeks later the same topic came up in regard to the North Inch.(39) A company of Royal Engineers were now billeted in the Northern District School and they picketed their mounts on the North Inch "close to the river where they could practise pontoon and trestle-building." The Town Council's concern over its dearest recreational areas and its concern for the local salmon and whisky industries were ignored. There was also the problem that the army had commandeered every horse in the region and none could be got, at any price.(40) By August there was another surge in the numbers of wounded pouring into the city's crowded hospitals forcing the army to take over the city's

city's Poorhouse and turn it into another military hospital.(41) Then came September and the "ghastly failure" at Loos.(42) BW casualties were enormous, indeed, they were so severe that the 4BW and the 5BW had to amalgamate survivors into the 4/5BW.(43) Every household in the city mourned the loss of a relative or a friend and the army's decision to transfer the Highland Fife Battery of the Royal Garrison Artillery to the City Hall hardly seemed important.(44) Far more ominous was the transfer of the 2/6 Seaforths(TA), all 500 of them, to Crieff, with 100 ASC from Perth.(45) It seemed likely that another "great attack" was being planned, but where were the men to come from?

The Town Council, despite its occasional brush withe military, was determined to do what it could to help. After all, there was a fascinating new concept now in general use, "man-power."(46) In mid-January they asked the Parliamentary Committee for "a list of all men of military age" and suggestions for eminent speakers to come to Perth.(47) They also sent a "Manifesto" to every householder explaining that the war was at a crisis and that more men must be found. To back this up the Town Council released a flood of posters - they were everywhere - trams, vans, buses, telegraph poles and house walls.(48) Recruiting schedules went out to family heads, war lectures were planned and more posters distributed.(49) Some reckon, that by the autumn, the country had 54 million on display.(50) A string of skilled orators came to Perth, men like Sir Edward Parrot, Chairman of the Edinburgh United Liberal Association and soon to be an MP.(51) Within days of his rousing address the Town Council had set in motion another two well-organized recruiting drives.(52) Even the city's wards had their own local drives and the directors of the Caledonian Railway Company agreed to show posters in their trains and stations.(53) Hard as as it is to imagine the city churches also joined in and were giving colourful calls to arms by early May.(54) But it was not enough. The fiasco at the Dardanelles and the stalemate at Ypres were ample proof that the war machine, as ever, needed more and more men. The only agency that could provide them was the State, which turned to the idea of "Mobilization of National Resources" to find out exactly what the nation could afford.(55) Thus queries came to Perth from the Committee on War Organization in the Distributing Trades of Scotland as to how many men of military age were employed in the city's shops. This came with a request that the Town Council encourage its most skilled workmen to volunteer for

BRITONS

JOIN YOUR COUNTRY'S ARMY!

GOD SAVE THE KING

for munition work. This they did, although they appreciated that success would merely add to their own problems. It was not to be - only two came forward, a water engineman and a gas worker.(56) All over the country, it was the same, the fire had gone out of the nation's spirit. The war was no longer a noble crusade.

The Government knew that the war had taken a serious turn and that there was a sense of gloom in the land. In early July therefore it started the process of compiling the National Register of all persons, male and female, aged 16 to 65, their occupation and whether they were willing to do work of national importance.(57) Already it contained the seeds of its own failure - there were far too many potential exemptions, a fact which did not seem to dawn on the thousands of unpaid distributors and collectors of this massive enquiry. In Perth "The Great Recruiting Drive" of late August seemed to prove otherwise as young men, intoxicated by the patriotic tunes played by the visiting Scots Guard band, still offered themselves for service. Older heads may have reflected otherwise at the Jeanfield Gala Day for the Troops - there were too many limbless men present, a painful reminder of the reality of the trenches.(58) Stories of a local man, a dyer, called Imrie, who had six sons in uniform, and the oratory of former sheriff and now Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, Lord Dunedin of Stenton, no longer worked.(59) Two million had volunteered, there would be no more.(60) This irritated some and Lady Jellicoe especially raved against the "Perth loafers." The Town Council furiously rejected the charge.(61) But everybody knew that cold reality had now settled over the nation.

Sophisticated methods - psychologically compelling posters, such as "Your Country Needs You!" and peer-group pressure, such as Pals' Battalions - were not enough.(62) The next logical step was to check the National Register and root out those not engaged in essential work.(63) Each of these was then asked "to attest", that is to affirm their willingness to accept military service when called. Clearly there was an element of compulsion or implied threat, but given the principle that married men would be the last to go most men accepted the policy. Director of Recruiting, Lord Derby, was therefore able to keep up his "drives for volunteers."(64) On 19 October, the Perth Courier revealed that, under Lord Derby's "New Civilian Recruiting Scheme", at least another 1,000 men were required from Perthshire immediately. Although some of the city's most prominent citizens - AE and RM Pullar - were members of the Local Recruiting Appeal Committee, which acted as a Tribunal, few could be persuaded to

to come forward willingly.(65) The first to do so, "under the City's Derby Scheme", was the city's lamp trimmer.(66) Despite the fact that others shared his fate - the swimming baths superintendent and his assistant, the blacksmith, a machine fitter and the tramway manager - it was soon obvious that this scheme too was failing.(67) Evidence for this comes from the Town Council's reason for rejecting the applications of some police constables to enlist - "Anyway, there might be conscription soon."(68) The resignation of the Home Secretary, Sir John Sinclair, confirmed the suspicion.

"Business as Usual" for the Town Council meant a continuation of what they had been doing in 1914 - guarding the reservoirs, organising cycle parades for the Red Cross, supervising the School Children's War Guild, collecting scrap metal and encouraging the Thrift Campaign.(69) Although they had magnificent support from most of the city's leading families, for instance, the Pullars - AE Pullar met the wounded when they arrived in Perth, while his wife dealt with their "family problems"; RD Pullar gave "extras" to those in Military Hospital and RM Pullar tried to help the Belgian refugees; nevertheless, it was very difficult.(70) They had to keep on top of masses of regulations, many with a strong rural quality - Parasitic Mange Order(1911), Poisons and Pharcmacy Act(1908), Fabrics(Misdescription)Act(1913) - while worrying about the extension of underground telegraph lines or gas power to the outer suburbs or more seats on the North Inch or even planning new streets in the city.(71) In fact, problems dominated their lives - where could they find more money to meet their obligations? where could they obtain more petroleum? should they allow the inmates of Murray Royal Asylum to keep cows for milk? should they organise a local Labour Force? how do they handle river pollution scares? should they take out insurance against air-raid damage? where would they get the extra staff to run the National Registration Scheme? should they allow dogs on trams? should they ask Government to consider the Electric Department as part of Munitions? where could they get more coal?(72) But they had more immediate challenges to face. Their typists were increasingly unhappy with their 35/- a week, after all, in Munitions they would have earned 40/-.(73) Tram staff were also restless. They asked the Town Council for a rise "to bring them into line with other towns."(74) Some depot fitters and blacksmiths were demanding 2/- and, in their discussions, the Town Council began to wonder if a "war bonus" might not be the answer.

answer.(75) Then the press suddenly disclosed that "there was unrest on the railways" after the National Union of Railwaymen had discovered that the cost of living in Perth gave the £ a value of 16/3d.(76) In fact, their "real wage", they calculated, was "barely 7/9d weekly." This disclosure brought a flood of wage-demands - the grave-diggers offered to work Saturdays for and extra 7d; carters and scavengers each wanted a rise; soon it was the tun of the lamp trimmers.(77) Before long the Town Council felt that they had to do something, given the cost of living, and they offered their roadmen 2/- more if their pay was under 35/- a week. (78) Gossip in the city called this "a war bonus", but that was officially denied. The 2/- weekly rise given to the city's cowherds passed unnoticed.(79) The same could not be said for the next demand - from the police.(80) Short of men and bedevilled with masses of regulations - Police(Emergency Provisions)Act(1915) and the Special Constables(Scot) Act(1915) - they wanted their 33/3d wage increased to 36/9d. This was serious because the police were talking of strike action as the alternative if refused. The Town Council warned them against such a step, but did concede that if any of them were called up their military service would count towards their pension. For the moment, this satisfied them. (81)

Dissatisfaction soon spread to the private sector. The bakers, anxious to copy what they thought were roadmen gains, demanded a war bonus of 4/- on their 33/- basic wage.(82) The most radical work-force in the city, the printers, then announced that they formally objected to the high cost of living and that they condemned the introduction of female labour into their trade, which they denounced as "dilution."(83) Then, shortly after a mildly comical strike by newsboys, came word that one trade was to be given official war bonus payments.(84) Messrs. T.P. Miller and Company, Turkey Red Dyers, Cambuslang, Glasgow informed the Amalgamated Society of Dyers that they would give 1d an hour to all dyers, 15% on piece rates, 10% bonus on wages if under 35/- weekly and 5% if over, "this War Bonus to be paid out every 4th Saturday." The Town Council were horrified and declared that "No War Bonus will be paid to any employee."(85) It was the signal for a massive wave of wage demands, described as "substantial" compared to 1914 levels.(86) Printers, for instance, wanted 4/2d on a minimum wage of 32/6d, a 12.8% increase. Employers were aghast and offered 1/6d, but this was rejected. The Town Council knew that they would have

have to react quickly and they asked their conveners "to assess those who deserve pay rises."(87) Nine from the Lighting Department were listed. Then, in September, came a really serious threat.(88) The National Union of Gas and General Workers of Great Britain and Ireland threw down the gauntlet - they wanted a rise of 1d an hour for their members. The Town Council decided to bluff it out and announced that "there would be no increase of wages during the War." At the same time they appealed to the Minister of Munitions for help.(89) But, already plumbers had won another ½d an hour taking them to 9½d an hour.(90) At this point the focus of attention switched elsewhere when the printers, as a trade, denounced house rents in Perth.(91)

This had become an issue, particularly in the west of Scotland, over the last few months because rents there had risen by 20% and there had been lots of evictions and consequently violent protests.(92) In Perth there was not the same belief that all landlords were war profiteers, but rather, at the worst, simply uncaring and negligent. The Town Council tried hard to keep up housing standards. In the Meal Vennel they ordered the owners of 11 houses "to make them fit for human habitation" and condemned outright others in Thimblerow and Skinnergate.(93) In April, especially, they launched a campaign to install WC's in all the houses in Union Lane, Mill Street, North Port and Bridge Lane, the poorest parts of the city.(94) By May they had factual prooof that most of the city's TB patients came from homes which were desperately overcrowded and often lacked decent sanitation.(95) Nationally, something had to be done. In November, the Government issued the Rent and Mortgage Interest(War Restrictions)Act.(96) It meant that mortgages could not be foreclosed nor interest payments be increased. Rents on Scottish houses under a Rateable Value of £30pa were also limited. It had several unseen results - speculative building for the working classes ended until well into the 1930's and although there was better tenure it also led to job immobility.(97) In fact, rent control "was not a great success."(98) There was no penalty for contravening the Act which was "continuously breached." Housing costs rose, there was more overcrowding and the reduced profit-level for landlords led to less repair and, eventually, even greater disrepair. The repercussions for health were obvious. Nevertheless, local authorities did set up depots for the sale of milk for infants at cost price.(99) Even the decision that still births had to be notified was generall approved.(100)

approved.(100)

None of the above problems was helped by the insidiously constant rise in the cost of living throughout 1915 which hurt working-class families so much. Bread, for example, by January, was up 30% on the July, 1914 price-level, not to mention wide variations even in a county - Blackford 7½d for a loaf, Crieff and Methven 8d and Northern Perthshire 8½d.(101) Coal was worse, because it was so scarce. This is why railwaymen got a war bonus of 2/- in February, by which time the price of coal was up 15%.(102) Consequently, the city was short of gas as prices rose and production fell.(103) In March coke rose by 1/8d a ton with carting charges to match.(104) By the autumn it was obvious that the colder weather would bring a coal shortage soon and the Government warned communities to prepare for the worst.(105) That came, somewhat abruptly, in October - "FUEL FAMINE - NO COAL!"(106) Foodstuffs were bad too. In January beef rose 1d lb and so alarmed were the City of Perth Co-operative Society that they wrote to several MP's demanding immediate action.(107) The Perth Courier again took the lead - "BLOOD-SUCKING TRADERS - THE BLOATED BEASTS OF PERTH." With flour up 75% sugar 72% and meat 12% their charge seemed justified.(108) The Town Council and Perth Labour Council confirmed the profiteering, except for sugar, which they claimed had risen 200% in Perth.(109) It was useless for realists to point out that it had a great deal to do with the U-boat campaign which had started in February or for Government to remind the public that Germany had had bread-rationing since January.(110) While, in retrospect, it is clear that Britain had no real scarcity, but just stiff price rises, it was enough for the State to launch a propaganda campaign for economy.(111) This brought little consolation, despite news of food-riots in Chemnitz and Berlin.(112) Soon there was a petition to the Prime Minister that "His Majesty's Government must exercise their powers and regulate the price of these commodities and thus prevent unnecessary hardships among householders."(113)

Throughout March the Perth Courier kept up its campaign, especially against "GRASPING BAKERS!"(114) Every trade union in the city joined in, particularly the Scottish Typographical Union, which wrote to the Prime Minister.(115) But, there was no improvement. By June prices were up 32% over the year - butter rose 2½d lb, bacon 3d to 4d lb, cheese 3d lb, pork sausages 2½d lb, cooked meat 4d to 6d lb.(116) Some calculated that food costs were actually rising at 1/3d a week for most families.(117) By July

July the price of food, in a year, had risen by 34%. Nationally, meat and bread were up 40%, fish 60%, flour 45% and sugar 68%. Clothing was no different. By September it was estimated that clothing was up 70% on the August, 1914 level.(118) For instance, a yard of blue serge, once 4/3d, was now 8/4d. One could get plenty of wool, but absolutely no dyes. Then, as with coal, October and the approach of winter brought a surge in the cost of food - a gal of milk rose from 10d to 1/- and eggs were now 3d each.(119) The Perth Courier again got to the crux of the matter on the 16 November - how could a soldier's widow survive on 10/- a week? how could she and four children live on 22/6d a week? There were even worse scenarios - an orphan only had 5/- weekly; a totally disabled soldier only had 25/-; a partially disabled soldier had only "a discretionary payment" of 3/6d to 17/6d. Society was suffering.

As one might expect, there was now considerable hatred for Germans. Much of it, in Perth, seemed to be due to a leaflet, "Advice on Air Raids by Germans", which was distributed to every householder in the city.(120) It painted a picture of unrelieved terror. German, as a language, now a mark of contempt, was no longer studied.(121) Although some writers call this reaction "Wartime Xenophobia", for aliens in Perth it meant a life of misery with lots of restrictions.(122) However, their worst time came in May - the Germans were using poison gas at the Front, they had just sunk the "Lusitania" at a cost of 1,000 innocent lives and British losses in Flanders were extremely high. The combination of these factors was too much for some and German pork butchers in the South Street had their premises attacked by a mob.(123) In July a local clairvoyant achieved fame when she predicted that the Kaiser would soon die and the war end.(124) Of course, evening classes had long since "dropped German from the curriculum" and local merchants refused to sell any goods that had their origin in Germany.(125) As for the Russians stranded at Perth harbour the Town Council were completely fed up with them and decided that their previous ruling of "no dues to be charged on the two ships" was cancelled. From henceforth, they would have to pay ½d/ton/month.(126) Given the fact that they were penniless, nobody could explain how they could pay, and, frankly, nobody cared. Patience with the Belgians was also running out. Their wounded soldiers in the Old Infirmary were grateful enough, but there were no more visits to the Belgian Village Exhibition in Glasgow.(127) The people of Perth were irritated by the fact that, despite the high cost of

RED CROSS OR IRON CROSS?

WOUNDED AND A PRISONER
OUR SOLDIER CRIES FOR WATER.

THE GERMAN "SISTER"
POURS IT ON THE GROUND BEFORE HIS EYES.

THERE IS NO WOMAN IN BRITAIN
WHO WOULD DO IT.

THERE IS NO WOMAN IN BRITAIN
WHO WILL FORGET IT.

of gas, the refugees in 2, Rose Terrace; Inveravon Bank, Bridgend; St. Leonard's Bank; 4, High Street and 8, Watergate had been charged only "at half the current rate."(128) When they discovered that Lady Georgina Drummond had arranged that they only paid carriage prices for coke, they were furious.(129) Before long Belgians were actually assaulted in the streets.(130)

Business and industry, of course, had to work on against this background of unrest. Many senior staff were at the Front - G. Pullar, Captain 6BW; JL. Pullar, Lieutenant 4BW; HS. Pullar, Major 3 Scottish Horse; A. Shields, Lieutenant Lowland Royal Garrison Artillery; D. Shields, Lieutenant 15 Royal Scots.(131) At the North British Dye Works(Pullars) the workers were upset by rumours of "enormous profits made by dyers."(132) Absent at the Board of Trade in London, RD Pullar was unable to deny these allegations. He was, in fact, fighting furiously to defend the National Dye Scheme in which he believed.(133) All he could do was to warn the city that "there was an impending famine in dyes." The national debate on how to organise the dye industry was fierce with discussions held at London, Leeds and Bradford.(134) The Perth Courier grasped the seriousness of the situation in its headline: "PERTH AND DYEING TRADE CRISIS!"(135) But, perhaps the Perthshire Advertiser was nearer the mark on 23 January - "WAR EFFECTS ON PERTH - It is possible that the industrial effects of the War on Perth may prove greater than the military." By February, RD's work bore fruit, the National Dye Scheme was approved by the formation of a new company, British Dyes Ltd..(136) But, at Perth, they were using all kinds of substitutes - herbs, mosses, trees - so short were they of true dyes.(137) The strain on the chairman, RD Pullar, must have been immense - a steady flow of casualties were reported among his 179 men who were at the Front and there was growing criticism in Parliament of his new dye company.(138) Although the firm was busy there were problems - unfit men were being lured south by the prospect of a wide choice of jobs and higher wages, while apprentices simply refused to attend any kind of evening class, even those essential for their trade.(139) Not that the work-force was in any way unpatriotic - one dyer had six sons in uniform and there were plenty of letters of appreciation for gifts, such as from the crew of HMS Triumph, torpedoed at the Dardanelles, or the men of 1/6BW.(140)

July brought more headaches. The Munitions Act had brought in a whole range of regulations for firms employed in "war production."(141) For a

a while, there was some confusion as to whether dyeing uniforms and cleaning blankets came under this category. But, apparently it did. The work-force were unhappy with the suggestion of compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, the fact that it was now a penal offence to leave a job without the employer's permission and "a leaving certificate" and the threat of dilution.(142) July also brought a sharp reminder that profits were falling because there was virtually no private dyeing now.(143) There were not even enough horses left in the city to pull the firm's fire-engine and RD had no option but to buy a motor tractor.(144) With October came the coal crisis and production fell significantly.(145) Sadly, it coincided with a wave of casualties, particularly from 8BW.(146) No wonder the firm's end-of-year report contained this observation - "1915 has been the worst year in the history of the Company."(147)

Conditions were much the same at P. and P. Campbell's Dye Works - girls knitted for the troops, one director and 40 men had left, some 25% of the total staff.(148) Not that it mattered much, there was no demand for cleaning evening wear, and dyes, when obtained, were very expensive.(149) They too had had their share of casualties and had willingly accepted an RE unit being billeted in the Works.(150) There was, however, one positive aspect - the mechanics had devised a new distilling system for cleaning benzine, which made 1915, ironically, "the most efficient year in the history of the firm." Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks were "fairly prosperous" due to a workers' "double-up system."(151) Garvie and Deas were highly pleased with "the boom in dyeing uniforms."(152) Shields' Wallace Works were not so happy. Hoping for a revival in the American market they struggled to preserve their stocks of flax now that links with Russia had been cut. To do this they were only working a 39 hour week. Of course, they were down 30 men and linen yarn costs had risen 100%. By April things had improved and full-time working was restored.(153) The year's profits were high - £14,681 - and "generous holidays" were granted to the staff.(154) Coates' Balhousie Works had serious problems - there was the high cost of meterials, the fact that 22 skilled men had gone off and that the carpet trade had "vanished."(155) Short-time was the only answer. Then, in April, came demands from the workers for an immediate war bonus. The directors conceded: 1/- if less than 12/- a week, 1/6d if under 20/- and 2/- if over 20/-.(156) North British Glassworks(Moncrieff)were doing well, making Monax glassware for the Government.(157)

Government.(157)

As the year drew to a close the people of Perth knew that they were now engaged in a life-or-death struggle. Change was in the air. Newspapers now had correspondents at the Front and the reportage had a sharpness to it that was different from 1914.(158) The poetry had improved, less blood and fire, more a tinge of sadness. There was also a trend to sensationalise crimes and scandals on the Home Front, like the notorious Brides in the Baths Murders. But there was also an awareness that the State now had enough power to play down "unpleasantness", like the 1/7 Royal Scots Gretna Green rail disaster or the secrecy about taking photographs.(159) Everybody suspected that the French had had heavy losses but few knew that the British army were suffering a monthly casualty rate of 19,000.(160) Even fewer were aware that by December 512,420 men were casualties and that the war had cost £1,424 million in 1915 alone.(161) It had been a strange year. Some 672 strikes with 2,953,000 days lost and average wage rises of 3/10d a week.(162) Perth had nothing to match "London's hysterical gaiety", but "Peg O' my Heart" and "Chu Chin Chow" were popular here too as were many strange fads and crazes, especially the 2/6d Tea Dansant and the exciting tango. Skirts were much shorter, even at the knees and many domestics had bravely gone off to Munitions.(163) Employers, both private and factory-owner, seemed to be more considerate towards women.(164) But there was still the feeling that Patriotic Barrows were a poor use of women's potential. As for men, there were shorter jackets with breast pockets, wider trousers, fewer turn-ups, knickerbockers and plus-fours. Casual fancy ties were now popular as were officer trench coats with belts and double-yoked shoulders.(166) The social impact of war was easily seen - matchsellers and bootlace men had gone and there were far fewer errand boys.(167) Pubs were less popular, whisky weaker and dearer, the GPO was less efficient and trains were often cancelled. Stations, museums and galleries were often closed and cars were laid up for the duration. Although light reading was none too popular in Perth there was already talk of "flappers" and "jazz." It looked like a long war.

Footnotes

1. TC 9/1/1915
2. PC 12/1/1915

3. C 13/1/1915
4. PE12/1(25/1/1915)
5. Williams, John(1972) The Home Front - Britain, France and Germany 1914-1918, London, p.63
6. C 1/2/1915; PA 10/2/1915
7. C 3/3/1915
8. PC 16/3/1915
9. PE12/1(30/3/1915)
10. C 5/4/1915
11. PE12/1(13/4/1915)
12. C 26/4/1915
13. PE12/1(29/4/1915)
14. C 10/5/1915
15. Ibid., 17/5/1915
16. Ibid., 14/6/1915
17. Ibid., 16/6/1915
18. Winter, J.M.(1985) The Great War and the British People, London,p.230
19. Williams, John, p.130
20. Marwick, Arthur(1984) Britain in Our Century, London, p.47; Jones, Stephen(1986) Workers at Play, London, p.101; Winter, J.M., p.210; Thorpe, Andrew(1994) The Longman Companion to Britain in the Era of the Two World Wars 1914-1945, London, p.67
21. PC 17/8/1915
22. C 20/9/1915, 21/9/1915
23. Williams, John, p.64
24. Ibid., pp.76, 64
25. PC 30/11/1915
26. PE12/1(29/12/1915)
27. TC 22/2/1915
28. Spear, Hilda D., and Bruce Pandrich(1989) Sword and Pen, Aberdeen, pp.xiii,xv
29. TC 3/3/1915
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31. Ibid., 22/3/1915
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33. Ibid., 31/3/1915
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38. TC 7/6/1915

39. Ibid., 6/7/1915

40. PC 14/9/1915

41. C 16/8/1915

42. Spear, Hilda D. and Bruce Pandrich, p.xvi

43. Wilson, Trevor, pp.251-265

44. TC 18/10/1915

45. Campbell, A., p.131

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47. TC 16/1/1915

48. Haste, Cate(1977) Keep the Home Fires Burning, London, p.55

49. TC 25/1/1915

50. Winter, Denis(1978) Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War, London, p.29

51. Who Was Who 1916-1928(1947), London, p.816

52. TC 11/2/1915, 17/2/1915

53. Ibid., 4/3/1915, 29/3/1915

54. Ibid., 6/5/1915

55. Ibid., 21/6/1915

56. Ibid., 8/7/1915, 12/7/1915

57. Wilson, Trevor, pp.167-169; Williams, John, pp.52-54

58. TC 31/8/1915; PC 31/8/1915; C 9/8/1915

59. Ibid., 13/9/1915; Pine, L.G.(1972) The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971, London, p.110

60. Winter, J.M., p.38

61. C 27/9/1915, 29/9/1915

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63. Wilson, Trevor, pp.167-169

64. C 18/10/1915

65. TC 1/11/1915, 15/11/1915

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69. Ibid., 25/2/1915, 15/3/1915, 26/4/1915, 10/6/1915; C 12/7/1915

70. Ibid., 10/5/1915, 12/7/1915, 2/6/1915, 27/10/1915

71. TC 25/3/1915, 1035/1915, 1/6/1915, 5/1/1915, 18/1/1915, 15/3/1915, 19/8/1915

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74. TC 4/2/1915

75. Ibid., 6/2/1915, 18/2/1915

76. PC 23/2/1915; C 22/2/1915

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78. Ibid., 15/3/1915

79. Ibid., 28/6/1915

80. C 24/5/1915; PC 25/5/1915; TC 7/6/1915

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84. PA 20/3/1915

85. TC 26/5/1915, 14/6/1915

86. C 7/7/1915

87. TC 8/7/1915

88. Ibid., 20/9/1915

89. C 17/11/1915

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100. Dwork, Deborah(1987) War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children, London. p.4

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104. Ibid., 29/3/1915

105. Ibid., 6/9/1915

106. Ibid., 5/10/1915

107. PC 12/1/1915, 9/2/1915

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109. C 10/2/1915; TC 8/2/1915

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113. TC 8/2/1915

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115. Ibid., 16/3/1915

116. Williams, John, p.45

117. Stevenson, John, p.80

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123. PC 18/5/1915; C 17/5/1915, 19/5/1915; Marwick, Arthur(1984) p.38

124. PC 20/7/1915

125. Ibid., 31/8/1915; C 20/10/1915

126. TC 21/1/1915, 21/10/1915

127. Ibid., 11/1/1915, 18/1/1915

128. Ibid., 25/1/1915, 23/2/1915

129. Ibid., 3/5/1915

130. C 17/11/1915

131. PA 28/4/1915, 8/5/1915

132. C 25/1/1915

133. Ibid., 11/1/1915; PC 12/1/1915

134. C 18/1/1915; PC 19/1/1915; C 20/1/1915

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143. Harding, A.W., p.89

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146. PA 2/10/1915, 13/11/1915, 17/11/1915

147. PC 27/12/1915

148. C 4/1/1915

149. PA 25/12/1915

150. PC 12/1/1915

151. PA 13/1/1915, 24/11/1915

152. C 4/1/1915

153. PA 31/5/1915

154. C 31/5/1915; PA 22/12/1915

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1916

With over 3,770,000 men in the Forces the military were dominant throughout 1916.(1) This was certainly the case in Perth as the army requisitioned property after property ruthlessly disrupting the lives of its citizens. In 1915-1916 they commandeered the Northern District School for the local pay office as their work-load intensified, School Board houses in Rose Terrace, Atholl Street and Barossa Street.(2) The Old Northern District School, a Red Cross Hospital since 1914, was changed to a recruiting office and Craigend School-house was requisitioned. It was the same with Friarton Isolation Hospital, now exclusively reserved for troops.(3) Even the Poorhouse was officially pronounced to be a War Hospital and placed in the charge of a Major Paton, RAMC, who lodged 100 troops there.(4) Of course, he had a problem, what to do with the inmates? He himself was safely ensconced in the Governor's house, but there was not enough accommodation for his men. He therefore ordered the transfer of all those in the Lunatic Ward to the local asylum. Those unfortunates who had been born in either Ireland or England were returned immediately to their place of birth.(5) Even the dead were dealt with - "unclaimed dead in the Poorhouse will be sent to Aberdeen Medical School for anatomical purposes." A measure of army control is seen in the fact that they now controlled no fewer than 18 hospitals in the Perth Area - Battleby in Redgorton, Aberdalgie and Glenfarg.(6) It was the same with billeting. The military demanded that billeted soldiers have at least 4,300 calories per day, a far healthier diet than that provided by the civilian's 3,859.(7) This was guaranteed by the "recommended feeding" of billeted troops in Perth - Breakfast: 5oz bread, 1 pint tea with milk/sugar, 4 oz bacon; Dinner: 12 oz meat, 6 oz bread, 8 oz potatoes/veg; Supper: 5 oz bread, 1 pint tea with milk/sugar, 2 oz cheese.(8) Not that army units in Perth were static: in March the Seaforths and ASC stationed in Crieff were moved out; in April, those men in the City Halls were relocated in a military camp on the east side of the South Inch; 200 soldiers left the Western District School, but had to return when their camp at Scone was flooded.(9) Each crisis in the war, Gallipoli or the Dublin Easter Rising, was followed by a flurry of troop movements. But the army had problems, lots of them. They were still short of horses and specialists. For example, Brig-General Maybury, Chief Engineer of Roads, appealed to the Burgh Surveyor "to provide men, under 50, and materials, road-scrapers and water-carts, for road-making in France." Only two volunteered.(10) Then there was the perennial problem - what to


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to do with bored troops? Here the military were quite inventive - they sent patrols "to secure Prohibited Areas" like Perth, Abernethy, Aberdalgie, Dunbarney, Kinnoull, Redgorton and Scone with instructions to arrest anyone taking photographs near tunnels or bridges.(11) Others were drafted to local farms for potato lifting or given lectures on Serbia or encouraged to learn Russian or read a booklet, "Great Britain and the War."(12) All of them were given talks on temperance and advised to put their money into War Savings rather than spend it on drink.(13) A more serious dilemma was to solve the matter of desertions and there were hundreds of them.(14) The first sign that a soldier was "on the run" was the discovery of a uniform concealed in a ditch, buried in a stream or hidden up a tree and most of these runaways were tinkers.(15) Desperate measures were tried - squads of Military Police scoured the countryside and for anyone foolish enough to help a deserter, it meant six months hard labour.(16) Like any society the army had its share of thieves, but what was particularly embarrassing was the small number of commissioned officers who persistently defrauded hoteliers with dud cheques.(17) Over-amorous bigamists were increasingly common as wartime romances bloomed.(18) It was the same with elopements. (19) Prostitutes from Glasgow, with the ever-present threat of VD, swarmed to Perth, but they were reasonably easy to control.(20) Much more difficult were the hordes of Dundee mill-girls who poured into Perth at the week-ends desperate to have a good time.(21) Breaches of the Peace were therefore almost nightly occurrences, especially when regimental rivalry, such as HLI vs BW, was concerned, or a quarrel over a girl.(22) No wonder troops were used every week to assist the police in sinstructing the populace on Air-Raid drills.(23) But the army was not without heart. They were genuinely concerned about the growing number of troops, who had seen action, reported as "mentally ill."(24) It was the same with the problem of finding employment for discharged soldiers, who were severely maimed. (25) The Town Council shared this concern and early in January made plans for such men.(26)

It had long been clear to the Government that the wave of volunteers had dried up and Conscription was the only alternative, no matter how unpopular it might prove. The army agreed. They knew that the war could only be won in France and only lots of men could win it. Despite the obvious problems involved in training reluctant soldiers the army gave its support. In January the First Military Service Bill came into operation - all single men and widowers without children aged 18 to 40 were called to

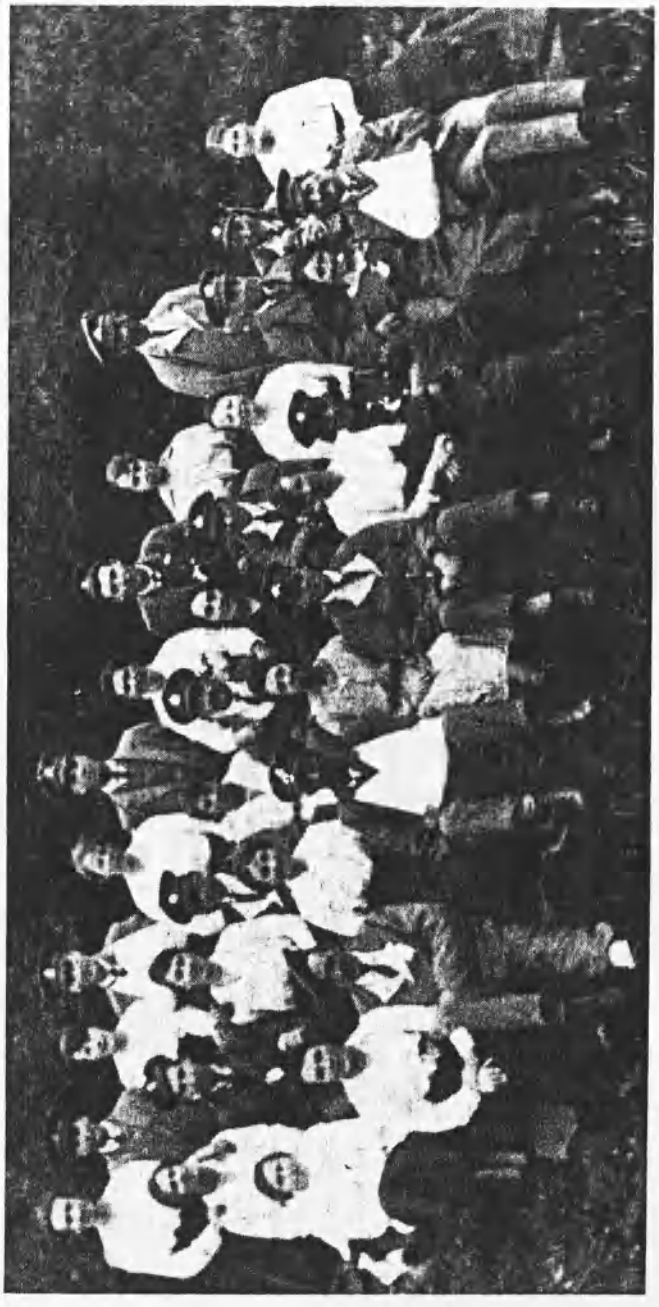
to the colours. Although some have argued that this legislation "led to the brutalities and stupidities of the Tribunals" it had a wide range of exemptions.(27) Clerics, munition workers, sole supporters of dependents, physically unfit and conscientious objectors approved by local Tribunals. Some of these categories were rather vague, "unfit" for instance, and the army tried hard to track these people down.(28) They were not very successful. So much so, that an editorial in the Constitutional on the 19 January noted: "Single men are shirking in Perth!" Some were easily caught - two in the Treasurer's Department and two in the Gas Works.(29) The Town Council were furious and lodged special appeals with the Central Tribunal in London. Conditional exemptions were increasingly difficult to obtain as the Perth police rounded up shirkers.(30) By May phase two came into operation - the Second Military Service Bill, which conscripted all married men and the remaining widowers 18 to 41. Many saw this as a social revolution and protests poured in, especially from the National Union of Attested Married Men. Still, too many were slipping the net and in August the Man-Power Distribution Board was set up to co-ordinate the search,(31) Slowly, the military began to win and by mid-November there were hardly any men left in Perth between the ages of 18 and 41.(32)

One group continued to irritate the military by their repeated refusals to come forward - the conscientious objectors. A steady stream of them came through the courts in Perth.(33) The first meeting of the Perth Tribunal was held in the County Buildings on 27 March when 43 appeals were heard by the court. The latter was composed of Sheriff Proncipal Johnston, Earl of Mansfield, RD Pullar, Martin of Flowerdale and Councillor David Brown. The first forward was a 29 year old dry dyer from the North British Dyeworks and as it was the policy of the firm not to appeal for any of its employees, he lost his case. Another dyer, aged 26, claimed to be morally "affronted" by the war and he was asked by Captain Watson, army representative: "Do you, as a dyer, refuse to dye khaki uniforms?" The young dyer saw the trap and replied: "That is one's economic position." To which Watson contemptuously replied, "It is the safer position at any rate!" The court laughed. Thus ridicule was used, and most effectively, in almost every case.(34) All these interviews were reported, in detail, in the local press, for the amusement of the readers. A case in point was that of the ILP dyer who appealed as "a Socialist, a disciple of International Faith and only support of a widowed mother."(35) This was received with a murmured, "He doth protest too much!" and howls of laughter. Another

Another dyer piteously described how he supported his mother, only to be told, somewhat callously, "Use your army pay!"(36) Such scenes, repeated some 400 times by early April, won the sympathy of the Perth and District Trades and Labour Council. Of course, they often expressed their dislike of the "class-structured nature of the Tribunals."(37) Naturally, even within weeks, these "Burgh Tribunals were soon clogged with exemption claims from employers and men with dependents."(38) Many were highly critical of such procedures: Lord Derby because 160 "starred occupations" were too many and the army because the appellants were clearly "skulkers and cowards." A typical view was: "Young agnostics suddenly converted to a new form of Quakerism that did not require any belief in God, but a belief that the man who would not fight would steal the job of the man who did." Others condemned the Tribunals as inconsistent as exemption was allowed "if there was pre-war evidence of anti-militarism." Some deplored the silly type of questions: "Do you take exercise? What do you do on Sundays?" Worst of all was the cold logic of the process. If you were rejected by the Tribunal, you were assumed to be in the army and if you did not report you were arrested as a deserter. This was followed by a court-martial and imprisonment with the inevitable rough handling - cuffs, dark cells, bread and water, forcible feeding. Naturally, it was not long before there were anti-conscription riots.(39) Prominent leaders of anti-conscription groups were soon under general attack, even from the Churches and found themselves either dismissed from their jobs or even jailed.(40) The army hated all this criticism from the public and, conscious of the fact that "conscientious" had never been legally defined, alloed CO's to serve their time in civil prison. Even those assessed as "unfit" suffered badly. They were sent to non-combative duties in France - digging trenches, erecting barbed wire entanglements, removing mines, bearing stretchers - all particularly dangerous, and if their health failed they were not eligible for a pension as it "had not been caused by fighting." The aim, clearly, was to punish. There was, however, some justification for the army's ruthlessness and that is found in the casualty figures listed from the Somme in August. In the Constitutional, in Perth, on 7 August the following appeared - BW:— 6 Killed in Action(KIA) and 19 Wounded(W) = 25 men; on 9 August the city lost - 8KIA and 3 Died of Wounds(DOW) and 2 Missing(M) and 9W = 22 men; the county lost - 6KIA and 3DOW and 22M = 31; on 14 August the city lost 10KIA and 1DOW and 4M and 13W = 28; the county lost - 6KIA and 1DOW and 4M and 6W = 17; on 16 August the city lost - 3KIA and 4DOW and 1M and 3W = 11; there was no data for the county.

county. In other words, 134 casualties - 39KIA, 12DOW, 23M(mostly dead) and 50 maimed. These figures simply made the Tribunals harder. Employers were often placed in difficult positions. RD Pullar, for instance, had to abandon his policy of not appealing for his staff.(41) On 13 June he explained his position to the Perth Courier: in 1914 he employed 1,030 men in the North British Dye Works and 357 had gone to war, leaving only 157 of military age. Of these, 138, some 85%, had either attested or were unfit. The remaining 516 were either too young or too old. His appearance was to save his head cashier, clerk, engine/draughtsman, chemist, plumber, boiler attendant, Tulloch Benzine Plant attendant, slater and glazier, the last two being in the firm's Fire Brigade. The first seven, who averaged 15 years' service got conditional exemptions, while the last two, younger men, only got three months' exemption. Nevertheless, by September, the firm had 409 in uniform, 52 having been called up in just a fortnight.(42) The last two cases RD fought show the process in a nutshell: a 26 year old dyer, a socialist, argued that war was immoral and lost his case! A 40 year old cleaner with eight children to support, was exempted.(43)

None of the above, however, had the slightest effect upon the authorities' war against drink. Continually, throughout January, there were increases in the cost of drink, such as another 7d on a gallon of whisky.(44) Astonishingly, this had no effect whatsoever, indeed drunkenness rose by 11% in that very month. For example, in January, 1914 the average number of drunk and incapables was 28, but by 1916 it was 56.(45) The authorities persevered. In February whisky rose again by 3d a bottle.(46) The editor of the Perth Courier noted the effect of drink: "Many soldiers' wives spend their money on wastefulness and love of finery in a mad rush to forget the War."(47) One case will illustrate: a dyer's finisher, a respectable and skilled worker, was found drunk in a shop, an offence unheard of pre-war.(48) The significant factor was that he paid his 40/- fine on the spot. Not surprisingly, by March, the Central Control Board, sought its first convictions.(49) It ordered that no more drink be served in the refreshment room of the General Station on Sundays, while the Chief Constable, again, publicly denounced late-night drinking.(50) Although there were lots of arrests and charges throughout the year, many felt that the Control Board were not sufficiently rigorous.(51) Hoever, they did manage to stop the practice of buying drink for convalescent troops.(52) Many remarked on the lack of discipline in society as shown by the refusal of apprentice dyers to study at evening classes.(53) Once again, in May, there was a



a campaign to press for national prohibition and a conference was arranged in Glasgow on 11 May.(54) Meanwhile, it was observed "that there was a considerable increase in the sale of methylated spirits in the City, as it was understood that a large quantity of spirits so sold was used for drinking purposes."(55) Chemists were urged to refuse suspicious buyers and were warned that sales might have to be regulated. At the same time the problem had reached such dimensions that the Government appointed an Advisory Committee, which included the Oxford philosopher, William McDougall, to examine the matter.(56) Their report revealed, as expected, that more was spent on drink than on meat, in fact, twice that spent on bread; that alcohol was a narcotic rather than a stimulant and was of small nutritional value, given that it lacked vitamins, warming qualities and was not necessary for life; that it led to crime, poverty, ill-health and industrial inefficiency. The disclosure that London pubs were open some 19½ hours a day, while those in the provinces were open 18 hours compelled the Committee to suggest that the former have a maximum of 5½ hours a day and the latter 4½ hours. The result was the Output of Beer Restriction Act which cut production, diluted spirits and reduced wine imports. Government would have gone further and bought out the drinks industry if there had been less opposition and if it had been cheaper. Nevertheless, there were soon State Pubs at Gretna Green, Invergordon and Cromarty.

It was not only the army which had problems in 1916. Local government was getting harder every week. As usual, there were irritating clashes with the military - the cost of cleaning up premises evacuated by troops, the priority which soldiers claimed to use the city's facilities, such as the swimming baths, the cost of treating 259 troops lodged in Perth Royal Infirmary.(57) The army gave 2/-/day/soldier and when the Town Council protested it was increased to 3/-, but this did nothing to cut the standing deficit of £640. Another minor disagreement was over the reduced fares paid by wounded troops on the city's trams and buses.(58) This meant loss of revenue at a time when cash was in short supply. There was also a running battle with the Tribunal as a string of skilled men were called up - the water works engineer and the sanitary inspector; the Friarton Gas Works book-keeper; two in the Town Clerk's office.(59) All of these claimed exemption with the backing of the Town Council. During the Battle of the Somme the numbers increased: two carters in Cleansing, the senior assistant to the City Chamberlain, the inspector of weights and

and measures, men in the Electrical Department and Electric Station, a gravedigger, the Water Works plumber and a driver.(60) Councillors had even less protection and just had to go.(61) By November, there were few conditional exemptions to be had.(62) Worst of all, was the shortage of money caused by claims of employees for war bonuses.(63) Thus, there were drastic reductions in the publication of reports.(64) Every section of the work-force was demanding rises, the most strident being the carters. Their claim arrived in January and it was not till July that their union, the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association, founded 1908, sent their General-Secretary, Hugh Lyon, to fight their corner.(65) He instantly asked for 2/- and got it, with a warning that it was "a last offer."(66) Lyon reacted furiously. He demanded another 5/- or his members would strike and he sent a deputation to intimidate the Town Council.(67) He got another 2/-.(68) The same tactics were tried by the gas men. The Town Council pointed out that they had been generous to their colleagues who were in uniform, but the Union of Gas and General Workers called in the Arbitrator, who awarded them 2/- in April and a further 2d an hour in December "due to the great increase in the cost of living."(69) This was the signal for the others - cemetery men 2/-; wash-house and swimming baths men 2/- in war wages and 2/- bonus; Lighting Department and scavengers, 2/- for the former and 1/- for the latter; water men 2/- war wages and 2/- bonus with "a day's extra pay per month for the long hours."(70) The last of the early claimants were the janitors and the teachers, the latter getting £10 bonus.(71) In May there came a second wave of wage demands: City Hall keeper 2/-; herds on the Inches 2/-; charwomen 2/-; sanitary staff and slaughterhousemen 2/- wages and 2/- bonus; and scales for all working at the Isolation Hospital.(72) By August a third wave of claims was in operation - City Chamberlain's office staff, Burgh Surveyor's staff, the Registrar, to be followed by electricity workers, roads/harbour/museum men 2/- and firemen 1/-.(73)

It was almost as if there was a conspiracy to destroy local government under a sea of debt and a mountain of regulations. Coal increased in price and Board of Trade pressure finally resulted in the Price of Coal Limitation Act.(74) The cost of Air-Raid insurance continually annoyed the Town Council and they argued strongly that it should be a national responsibility.(75) Planning schedules was a virtual impossibility as the Ministry of Munitions repeatedly asked for the alteration of holiday dates, not to mention the havoc created by the introduction of the

Summer Time Act.(76) The whole city was laid out in districts and each was scrupulously searched for scrap metal and waste paper, while the city's 64 byres with their 271 cows had to be inspected.(77) And all of these to be completed by a steadily diminishing work-force. To add to the frustration of municipal headaches was the almost daily applications for flag-days: Russian Jews' Relief Fund, National Life-Boat Institution, Lady Beatty's Navy League, Kitchener Memorial Fund, YMCA, French Red Cross and a host of others. Increasingly the Town Council had to refuse permission and suffer repercussions from bad publicity. Even worse was the enormous rise in the number of war charities which the Town Council bravely denounced "as far too many in number."(78) Then there were the areas under which the State had absolute control, such as the need to extract materials for high explosives from gas.(79) Housing, naturally, had to be generally neglected, there was neither money, men nor supplies to maintain them. That is with the exception of unfit houses that rapidly fell into the dangerous category and had to be demolished. This was a common feature in the Thimblerow, Skinnergate and Pomarium.(80) To save cash the Town Council actually decided not to send any delegates to the Housing and Town Planning Congress in Glasgow.(81) Transport had to have priority and this was an area which presented many difficulties, especially after the call-up of the last trained tram-driver and the tram manager in January.(82) Despite the snags the Town Council, as an experiment, courageously introduced a bus service for schools in February.(83) Staff had to get their war wages and bonus as did other employees and they all received 2/- in April and a further 2/- in December.(84) Convinced that the future lay with the motor-bus rather than the tram they decided to hire a new type of bus from Edinburgh, somewhat to the annoyance of the rate-payers.(85) Then, in August, came the bad news they had long feared. There was not enough petrol to run a full service.(86) By now, almost anything was possible. After all, one of the tram-drivers was only 18 years old.(87) Unbelievably, throughout this period of war, a section of the community was still arguing against the running of sunday trams!

Plans for the post-war ranked high among the Town Council's deliberations, especially after the query from the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland: "What will be the probable demand for labour on public works at the end of the war?"(88) The Town Council had no difficulty in answering - widen the Glasgow Road bridge, asphalt the streets, get new industries, restore St. John's Kirk by removing galleries and partitions and remodel the museum in George Street.(89) Pensions were a more immediate matter

matter and were growing even more complicated with the start of Separation Allowances to military dependents and OAP's.(90) But it was the Naval and Military Pensions Act 1916 which set up local Pension Committees.(91) Discussed throughout April, it was ready by early May.(92) Essentially, the committee was to consist of 25 persons, at lease five of whom had to be women and another five repres nting trades, a further four had to come from either the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association or the Soldiers' Help Society. The Town Council suggested that seven reflect the trades of dyeing, glass, linen, clothing, shops, bakers and grocers, so vital to the community. It was further suggested that three come from the Trades Council, one of whom should be a woman, and one from each of the following - the Co-operative Women's Guild, Public Health and the School Board. Within a month it was in operation.(93) Nominations for three years and meeting regularly were the Lord Provost, two bailies, treasurer and three councillors for the Town Council; TB Moncrieff of Springlands (glass); F. Norie Miller of Cleeve(School Board); a minister; Mrs. Calderwood, Newrow and Jessie Dingwall(Trades Council); Mrs W. Smith, Aldie Place (Co-operative Guild); P.W. Campbell(dyeing) and Mrs. J.J. Mackenzie, North Methven Street and Mrs. R. Smyth, Clyde Place(Association). Thus, Perth Local Pension Committee actually had more women than suggested by law. Each of these ladies was well-known in the city for her strength of character and forceful personality. They were to make their presence felt over the coming months.(94) Equally important for the community was health and since the Notification of Births(Extension)Act 1915 it was obvious that more attention would have to be paid to the qualifications and training of midwives.(95) The Midwives(Scotland)Act had already decided that their training would have to be much more rigorous.(96) Although concern was expressed for the worrying rise in illegitimacy, malnutrition, among children at least, was down. Sadly, little improvement was seen with bad teeth, lice and impetigo. From Murray's Royal Asylum came reports that there was "less insanity" because "the community was less introspective and idle."(97) There was one anomaly: the Society for the Relief of Incurables of Perth and Perthshire, for the very poor and the very sick, noted that although their numbers were rising the death rate had dropped. (98) Since this had first been observed in 1911 it had remained a mystery. Then there was the problem of Venereal Disease. The Town Council realised that it was as much a civilian problem as military and they gave wholehearted support to the recently formed National Society for Combating VD.

VD. In November, under Section 78 of the Public Health(Scotland)Act 1897, a Local Government Board set about preparing a local scheme.(99) Finally, the Town Council periodically had to entertain famous personalities, who were trying to boost the war effort - Sir Charles B. Renshaw, Chairman of the Scottish War Savings Committee, also Chairman of the Caledonian Railway and ex-Tory MP, dull, but honest; and Horatio Bottomley, demagogue, editor of "John Bull", exciting, but dishonest.(100)

For one sector of the community war had meant a tremendous increase in their work-load, the police. Bigamy was now a common offence, as were misuse of aliases, juvenile smoking and wife assault.(101) They had to cope with an increase in the number of suicides, the problem of housewives turning to prostitution to supplement their drinking-money and a rise in the number of youth gangs.(102) Most policemen resented the current policy of courts to admonish rather than punish and the fact that no delinquent had been whipped in Perth since 1905.(103) Blackout regulations now meant that hundreds were remitted regularly to the Sheriff Court. Then there were the masses of by-laws which had to be enforced - no driving sheep in the dark through the town.(104) Legislation continually added to their duties: the Cinematograph Act 1909 which called on them to examine fire risks; the Lights on Vehicles(Scot)Act 1916 which declared that "the inside lights of tram cars and motor buses require to be reduced, shaded or obscured"; the Lights(Scot) No. 1 Order(DORA February 1916) that "all lighting be reduced."(105) Police even had to assist troops in Air-Raid drill: "If there is an air-raid the public will be warned by reducing the gas pressure."(106) Experiment showed that while this worked well in the lower areas of the city, Craigie, Bridge of Earn and Scone it was useless for higher areas like Cherrybank and Upper Craigie.(107) Even more difficult was explaining to the elderly why such blackout rules were needed.(108) Of course, every fire had to be investigated, especially the February blaze at Lumsden and Mackenzie, Almondbank, which cost £2,000 and the outbreak in April at the Highland Railway Stores, High Street.(109) Sabotage as a possibility figured in almost every investigation. In vivid contrast was the city's insoluble problem: "joy-riding" cyclists on stolen bikes round and round on the South Inch footpaths!(110) So great was the volume of additional work that Special Constables had to be recruited to follow out the DORA regulations on pigeons, stop people taking photographs, check begging letters, make sure that shops do not sell books with views of local landmarks and listing all the vehicles in the area.(111)

(111) DORA loomed large also in the life of the traditional law agencies: no kites were to be flown in Perth, no petrol to be bought or sold without permission, no river charts to be sold, no postcards of Perth to be displayed.(112) There were serious issues too: searching for escaped enemy prisoners of war in their distinctive "brown corduroy and blue circle on the back"; tracking down the 19 pamphlets banned by Regulation 27 DORA such as "Peace at Once" by Clive Bell and "Is Germany Right?" by Clifford Allen; distributing circulars on "What to do if there is an Invasion"; preventing reporters from finding out the condition of Perth Penitentiary's most famous inmate - John Maclean(1879-1923) serving three years.(113) It is not surprising that the police asked for and got rises in August, 1914 and July, 1915.(114) In October, 1916 they got another 1/2d and a month later new scales which gave a sergeant 37/11d to 43/9d and a constable 26/3d to 36/9d.(115)

Pay rises were the aim of every section of society. No wonder. Medicines were now up by 25% and fuel was only available for bakers or those "engaged in Munitions."(116) Domestic consumers found that their coal was also up by 3/- a ton "to discourage excessive use." Even telephone rentals were up too.(117) The editor of the Perth Courier caught the feeling rather neatly on 1 August: "Perth is the City of the lowest wages and the highest prices " as milk, bread, newspapers continued to cost more.(118) As a result of "a dull and wet summer" wheat was now 58/5d a quarter compared to the 34/11d of 1914 and the 52/10D of 1915.(119) The State realised the consquence of this and in October appointed a Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies. But it was in November that there was a sudden rush in price rises - beef from 1/- to 1/8d lb; mutton 1/- to 1/6d; butter 1/8d to 2/2d; pork 10/- to 14/6d stone; a dozen eggs 3/- to 3/6d.(120) Not surprisingly, the City of Perth Co-operative Society demanded that "the cost of food needs control."(121) Prices were now estimated to be up 75% on the 1914 level.(122) The State acted quickly and set up a Committee on Food Supplies, the Board of Trade took over milk supplies, a Royal Commission overlooked sugar and shipping came under the Ship Requisitioning Committee formed in 1915. They also introduced the first war bread composed of husks, potato flour and bean flour, in other words, adulterated.(123) The wet autumn weather had resulted in a poor potato crop and more and more queues were seen.(124) Not even reports that both France and Germany already had adulterated bread brought any comfort.(125) By December

December it was clear that sugar, meat, fish and eggs were up between 82 - 163% on the 1914 level.(126) The National Food Economy League advocated porridge and toast for breakfast and scones for tea.(127) With coke now at 23/4d it was considered time to create a Ministry of Food and appoint a Food Controller.(128) Locally the Town Council kept a Register of allotments and encouraged people to grow more.(129) With prices so high the School Board was compelled to feed 116 children daily at the Cooking Depot where costs coninued to rise - since 1915 potatoes had gone from 2/9d to 10/-; turnips 3/- to 4/-; carrots 7/- to 8/-; flour 22/- to 27/6d; white sugar 32/- to 42/-; brown sugar 32/- to 38/-; ground rice 16/- to 29/-; barley 2/9d to 4/8d; sago 4/- to 4/8d; currants 5/10d to 7/-; onions 1/1d to 2/6d and lentils 25/- to 31/-.(130)

Such rises caused near-panic among the city's trades and they responded with a spate of wage claims - painters got½d an hour, slaters 1d, plumbers 1d, glaziers ½d, bakers wanted 3/- on their basic wage of 35/- and they got it.(131) By October, all of them wanted more.(132) It was the same with business. With 374 of their staff in the Forces the General Accident decided that there would be no dividend on ordinary shares for the year 1915-1916, while Perth Savings Bank, on the other hand, announced that, as a result of thrift, no less than £1,117,884 had been lodged in 1916.(133) Industry too had its problems in 1916. The North British Dye Works admitted that there had been "a considerable diminution" in their trade, especially in cleaning fine dress for entertaining and household goods cleaning.(134) But at least, all the staff were still at work, although on short time. Few of the public realised that all the firm's motor vehicles had been confiscated by the army and those that they occasionally saw in the city had only been hired. Even fewer knew that "the Engineering Department produced munitions and that mechanics made shells." RD Pullar was rarely in Perth and was normally at Huddersfield supervising the extraction of benzol, toluol, carbolic, sulphuric and nitric acids, the common links between dyes and explosives. Meanwhile, the Works steadily lost more men to the army. By mid-January some 293 men were serving with 32 units - 94BW, 51 ASC and 23 Scottish Horse.(135) Four of them were already dead. By the time that a full working week had been restored, in May, RD had retired as President of the Society of Dyers and Colourists at Bradford having served his two years, and his son, Lt. J.L. Pullar, had been invalided home from France.(136) So many girls in the

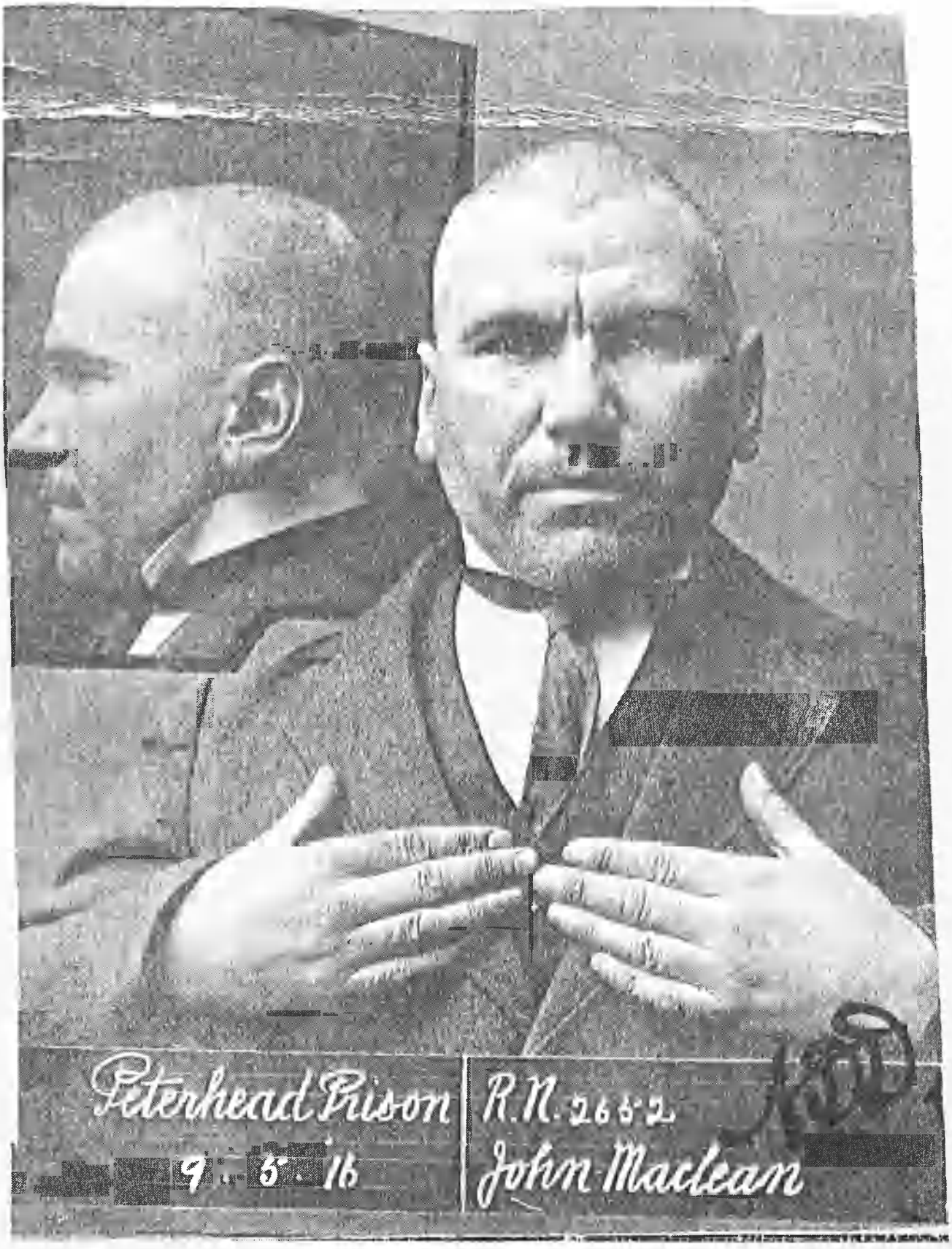
the Works were engaged in voluntary war work that the Perthshire Advertiser talked of "Pullars at the Front."(137) One of their week-end ploys was to scour the hills around Perth searching for lichens and berries to replace dyes. According to some there were at least 80 such plants available in Scotland. Girls in the Tailoring Department adopted British prisoners of war in Germany and acted as pen-pals for the lonely. By June, even these were compelled to lodge a wage claim to meet the rise in the cost of living.(138) The firm responded with an immediate 2/- to 3/- per man and 1/- to 1/9d for women and boys. To their surprise the workers said it was not enough. Perhaps this explains the few incidents of thieving which took place soon after.(139) Then, when RD was at the Annual Congress of the Society of the Chemical Industry in Edinburgh, came news that 50,000 English dyers had just been given war increases.(140) The staff at once asked the aid of the Board of Trade and the Government to get the same, but this was rejected. With the whole community plunged into gloom with the casualty lists from the Somme and the work-force steadily demoralised, RD granted an immediate bonus of 4/- to men and 2/8d to all others.(141) This meant that each man had had a rise of 7/- in under three months and each woman 4/8d. This increased the firm's outlay and the lack of petrol forced the directors to cancel all Works' charabanc outings.(142) By September some 409 of the employees were serving the colours and the press joke of "The Pullar Battalion" became a reality.(143) Just as the editor of the Perthshire Advertiser was warning that the future threat to Perth would come from America rather than Germany, the Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades demanded a rise of 10/- for men and 6/- for women by 24 November, 1916 under threat of strike.(144) While the Perthshire Advertiser described the situation as "ALARMING!", the editor of the Perth Courier perceptively warned that "AFTER THE WAR - PROBLEMS WITH TRADE UNIONS."(145) In general the press were not in sympathy with the union demand considering that the men at the dye-works had had a rise of 7/- and women 4/8d "considerably more than many sections of the working population."(146)

P. and P. Campbell were in a happier situation. By sheer luck they had always used British dyes rather than German and they therefore invested heavily in the new firm, British Dyes Limited.(147) Despite the fact that they had a small RE unit billeted in the Works and that all their male employees were attested under the Derby Scheme, they suddenly were faced

faced with the call-up of some of their key staff.(148) It was made worse in July when the general manager, the Edinburgh district manager and the residential engineer were called up.(149) Fortunately, Leonard Rigg, manager, was able to persuade the City Tribunal to grant conditional exemption. It was even harder in September when the foreman carpet cleaner, the foreman dyer, the calendar-man and a dyer's finisher were all called up.(150) The latter had to go to the army, but the others got two months' grace.(151) When Rigg was recalled in October to plead for the foreman dyer he told the Tribunal that the firm had once had 16 dyers, now only eight were left and they were all foremen dyeing khaki. 75 men were already in uniform.(152) When he returned, a fortnight later, only two dyers were left: "If we lose these qualified dyers the doors of the Works will close - forever!"(153) The Perthshire Advertiser took up the matter on 14 November: "PERTH DYE WORKS IN DANGER - CAMPBELLS LOSING TOO MANY SKILLED MEN." The Board of Trade issued a statement admitting concern, while the press posed the crucial question - "IS DYEING AN ESSENTIAL TRADE?"(154) Rigg's last appearance before the Tribunal in 1916 saved the calendar man with a simple plea - "He is the only one left who can work the machine!" It was different at Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks.(155) Although they too had felt the effects of war they had cleverly moved their resources into laundry work, which was "doing well." Advertising a "hygienic laundry" with collars and shirts a speciality they were actually making money,(156) Shields' Wallace Works was having "a perplexing time" and many of their looms were idle.(157) But they too had diversified from linen to cotton and although they still worked a 51 hour week their stores of flax and yarn were nearing exhaustion. Their problems were much the same as faced other Perth industries, but they still turned in a healthy profit of £16,881.(158) This, despite the death of their chairman, Mr. Leitch, and the return of the two shell-shocked directors, Lt. A.G. Shields and Lt. G. Shields.(159) They warned the Tribunal: "If more men go then the Wallace Works may close." At Coates' Balhousie Works the problem was "rising costs resulting in severe problems."(160) Although they made blankets for the Forces 37 of their best men had been called up and the remaining 30 had all attested. Other employers in Perth were complaining about the level of income tax 1/- in the £ and urging the setting up of a Federation of British Industry to match the trade unions. Others, like the Caledonian Railway Workshops, were using their war-profits

profits to upgrade their equipment, in this case, the introduction of electric lighting.(161)

Amist all this gloom it was obviously important to keep up the nation's morale. In the earlier part of the year this was done by newspapers and their subtle handling of events. For instance, much was made of the food riots in Dusseldorf and Berlin in the summer of 1916.(162) Equally, the death of Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, produced "overwhelming feelings of regret and sorrow" in Perth.(163) Then there was the feeling in July that with Lloyd George as the new War Secretary things might improve; then, in November, with the re-election of Wilson in the USA many hoped that America would soon enter the war. There was still an irrational obsession with spies, thus no weather reports or chess problems in the newspapers, no public clocks allowed to chime, no whistling for cans.(164) Songs were particularly uplifting at this time: "Keep the Home Fires Burning"; "It's a Long Way to Tipperary"; "Peg o' my heart"; "If you were the only girl in the world and I was the only boy"; "There's a long, long trail awinding into the land of my dreams"; "Pack up your troubles in your old kit bag and smile, smile, smile." Slowly, literary propaganda gave way to films.(165) In 1916 there were five cinemas in Perth - the BB's in Victoria Street; High Street; City Halls; La Scala in Scott Street; King's in South Methven Street.(166) Throughout the year they did a roaring trade with war films and spy stories especially popular.(167) The Government did not mind, they helped recruiting and even the better-educated were drawn to enjoy this comparatively new visual experience.(168) The desire for escapism was universal and the film-makers responded with more comfortable cinemas, longer films, more serials and the cult of stars, like Chaplin.(169) Deliberately attacking the pre-war image of "coarse" and bowing to the Entertainment Tax, film-making rapidly developed into an industry - exploring animated cartoons, faking battle scenes for the "Battle of the Somme", dramatically adapting famous novels into photo plays, analysing class differences and sex problems in such epics as "The Loveless Marriage."(170) That these techniques were successful is shown by society's continued positive response to the war - 24 of the staff at Murray's Royal Asylum, 29 of the School Board, 376 FP's of Caledonian Road School, 196 from the Northern District School, 181 from the Western District School, 161 from the Southern District School, 65 from Cherrybank School and 17 from tiny Craigend School had all gone off to war.(171) Those at home had not flagged either - they gave comforts to the 6BW



The official prison photograph of John MacLean, taken at Peterhead on 9 May, 1916

6BW, entertained the wounded, maintained school gardens, knitted for the War Guild, helped out at Soldiers' Clubs, collected medical bottles and spaghnum moss, gave to War Savings.(172) Their sense of service is shown by the Wylie family of Perth and their seven soldier-sons: one in the Canadian Division, one in the Canadian RAMC, two in the Machine-Gun Corps, one in the Royal Dragoons, one in the ASC and one in the West Kents. Some sections of the community irritated the majority - the Belgians and the Labour Party. Perth had long since become disillusioned with their guests especially as they were refusing to register and were costing the city 6/4d each per week.(173) With 70 of them in Perth that meant £22.3.4d a week or £1,152.13.4d per annum. Even news that some of the Belgian soldiers in the area were only 13 years old did not win them sympathy.(174) Police kept a close eye on some of them whom they suspected of "shirking." (175) In fact, 22 of them were considered eligible for military service and were tracked down - Francois Junius, goods packer; Charles Verlegen, gardener; Reny Broos, bottle packer; Gerard van Leempuuen, jam maker.(176) The Labour Party were also regarded in 1916 with a mild degree of suspicion, after all, they preferred to discuss the prospects of rail nationalization rather than the war and spent too much time trying to get their members seats in the Town Council.(177) Worse was their campaign for the release of John McLean from prison and their lectures on "War is a threat to the working classes."(178)

As 1916 drew to a close certain aspects of the war became clearer. Women were obviously not being used to their full potential and many felt that attending cookery lessons and selling flags for good causes was not enough.(179) They were certainly making progress, however slowly: most job-applicants in Perth were now women, there were more female nurses at Murray Royal Asylum, more women wanted to teach physical training and the Army Pay Corps were training some of them to be clerks.(180) Many young women, especially domestics, were thrilled to hear that their services were wanted in Munitions and on the land.(181) But they still had enemies - farmers and trade unionists - "We're going to have trouble with these female clerks - there are thousands of them in the railways."(182) There was also a growing sense of confidence among women as news came that Lord Northcliffe was now in favour of the female franchise.(183) The other obvious lesson of 1916 was that the power of the State was increasing and had to increase further. With five new Ministries - Pensions, Labour, Food, Shipping and Air Board - the State now controlled rail, shipping, coal, iron,

iron, wool, sugar, food, agriculture and munitions. The cost was high with lots of bureaucratic rules, an omnipresent DORA and intrusion on personal rights.(184) But there were benefits too - the extension of Unemployment Insurance, the issue of War Savings certificates for small investors and the belief that with the Lloyd George Coalition and the five-man Cabinet, the nation, at last, had a chance of winning the war. The people knew that the cost would be great in both men and in money, but it would be worth it.(185) There were even mysteries which the all-seeing economists could not explain - why, although there were as many as 16 pawnbrokers in Perth, the number of vagrants was falling? why unemployment had virtually disappeared? why real wages had gone up?(186) The man-in-the-street did not care, he was, as the Government knew only too well, too war-weary to bother.(187) He just wanted to see an end to the war.

Footnotes

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5. POL1/14/2
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12. CC1/5/13/27
13. CC1/5/13/23
14. POL1/14/3(3/1/1916); POL1/14/5(3/8/1916); POL1/5/36(31/10/1916); POL1/5/37(25/11/1916)
15. POL1/5/35(8/3/1916); PE1/48/5
16. POL1/2/3(15/9/1916)
17. POL1/14/5(10/10/1916, 14/12/1916)

18. POL1/14/4(1/2/1916, 4/2/1916, 20/5/1916)
19. POL1/14/5(23/11/1916)
20. Ibid., (19/6/1916)
21. POL1/50/3
22. POL1/14/4(6/5/1916, 13/5/1916); POL1/14/5(20/6/1916)
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45. PC 25/1/1916
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47. Ibid., 8/2/1916
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1917

It was now the third year of the war, a year which the people of Perth were long to remember as "the worst year of the war." No longer was the army and its needs paramount in their thoughts, now it was personal survival in a society racked with industrial bitterness and on the verge of civil disorder.

The appointment of a Food Controller in January was a clear indication as to just how serious the food shortages and rising prices were.(1) Hence the food economy posters which flooded the country.(2) The Constitutional admitted that the nation's food was increasingly monotonous and advised the growing of herbs as "useful for adding taste."(3) Even children from Perth Academy were growing vegetables in front of the school in Rose Terrace. Nobody could really explain why things were so expensive, but it was reckoned that the cost of living in Perth, since August, 1914, had risen by 89% and was still rising, by at least 2-5% per month.(4) Ironically, the cost of dying had also mounted as funeral costs soared.(5) Hence the interest shown in the local press when it was learned that London had started a food-coupon scheme.(6) The School Board too realised the need to cut-back and ordered "strict economies" in books, stationery, apparatus, fuel, light and cleaning. Indeed, so desperate had things become that the Town Council ordered the Chief Constable to release from duty any man who had had experience of farm-work.(7) Some 16 came forward and they were used as advisers to "food-growing groups" all over the city. They also toured schools and encouraged pupils to become involved in food and hygiene courses. Chilren were even known to skip school and slip down to the harbour to collect potatoes and vegetables spilt in unloading from coastal vessels.(8) Not that there were many ships in dock. Germany's proclaimed "Unrestricted U-boat warfare" saw to that. Foreign ships with food rarely came and this at a time when the UK imported 100% of its sugar, tea and chocolate; 80% cheese; 79% cereals; 73% fruit; 65% butter; 51% eggs and margarine and 36% vegetables.(9) But it was April that earned the title "crisis month" as food really became scarce in the city. In the Poorhouse, for example, sugar was a thing of the past and the inmates did their bit by setting up a piggery and using every part of the grounds for potatoes.(10) About this time the London coupon system was extended to all parts of the country for meat, tea and butter.(11) Queues were even longer than

than in 1916, meat was almost impossible to find and feeding pigeons was banned.(12) There was even a rumour in Perth that the troops at Scone had to endure bad food as well. By now Government realised that some form of rationing was inescapable. After all, France had meatless days and it was generally known that Germany had "crow meat" and only one egg every three weeks and that their shops had to close at 7pm.(13) It had even been considered as "a war possibility" as far back as 1903 and was the subject of a Royal Commission Report in 1905. Nontheless, the thought was not accepted with any enthusiasm as its inauguration would openly signal to the enemy the success of his U-boat campaign. This mattered little to the man-in-the-street. He could not understand how a 4lb loaf could cost 1/1d, nor could he accept the fact that the much publicised Food Economy Campaign was a shambles. Neither could the Town Council and they furiously debated the eternal questions: who was responsible? what can be done?(14) A measure of the near-panic, which the authorities strove hard to conceal, was the discovery by the police that tinkers all over the area were flocking into Perth, abandoning their traditional summer-sites and squatting in the slums of the Thimblerow.(15) This was a risky thing to do given the frequent searches by the military for deserters and the police for shirkers. So many were hiding in this derelict area that they captured the sympathy of the Duchess of Atholl, who urged the setting up of a committee to help them.(16)

By high summer the Ministry of Food had begun to ration sugar, butter, lard, meat, tea and cheese through coupons and cards.(17) Unfortunately, they omitted to stipulate prices and blatant profiteering quickly ensued. "Profiteer" was a word with a fearsome, emotive power, which could unleash the most passionate hatreds. The Town Council shared this reaction and argued that the recent rise in the price of bread "was not excused by the bakers' pay rise and is not an accepted reason."(18) Although bread was not rationed it was strongly suspected in the city that beans were being added to what the citizens contemptuously referred to as "the dark war bread." Bacon was now 1/8d lb and tea was actually 4/- lb.(19) This persuaded Government to launch a campaign to encourage tea-drinkers to switch to cocoa. It was only 7½d qtr if loose and "went quite well with oats for breakfast." At the same time gardeners were urged "to live off their vegetable plot" and "enjoy Sunday teas outdoors." As for children, sulking because their comics had just doubled in price, the Government proclaimed


THE
KITCHEN
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proclaimed that there was nothing better than "regular intake of rice pudding, liquorice and cod-liver oil."(20) As for hotels - two days / week without potatoes and one day/ week without meat was "healthy."(21) Perth School Board struggled mightily to offer nutritious fare: Monday dinner - lentil soup with ground rice pudding; Tuesday - mince and potatoes with boiled stew with corn flour pudding; Friday - fish and potatoes with baked treacle.(22) By this time, August, it was calculated that the average family in the UK was spending 39/- a week on food.(23) It was hardly surprising. Wheat was now at the atronomical level of 75/9d tqr.(24) Soon the Food Control Commission and merchants, after interminable disagreements, agreed to a rationing scheme.(25) Because the "fixed price" of bread had to be "at least 1/-" Government was forced to add a subsidy and the result was "Government Bread."(26) In Perth, it was simply called "the cheap loaf." Fortunately, autumn brought help for pensioners with better Separation Allowances for soldiers' wives - with a child under 14 then 23/-; if four children then 40/6d.(27) Private soldiers' widows got 13/9d, while the widows of junior officers received 40/-. Both had, in addition, 1/3rd of that sum for a boy to 18 and a girl to 21. There were also disability pensions, health insurance being automatic for troops with maternity benefits for wives. Most people agreed that clothing was "costly" and this helped to put an end to knickerbockers, while tobacco rose by an excruciating 70%(28) Indeed, it was estimated that "the basic survival level" for the average family was 15/- a week for food, 1/10d for fuel and 4/- clothing and other items, a total of 21/- per week. Sadly, in Perth many did not earn anything like this and it was to prove to be the fuse for civic disorder. The Town Council knew that trouble was brewing, but they could do little. They had enough on their hands struggling with bread orders and the fact that "the best parlour coal" was now 34/- a ton, while "the best nuts" were 28/- a ton.(29) With the mid-October wage rise for miners the situation worsened: coal rose by another 2/6d a ton.(30) On the average this meant a further 2/- more per week for the average family in Perth.(31) The local Coal Committee appreciated this, but were more concerned with the effect of the increase on the very poor particularly as winter was drawing near.(32) Few knew that the city had less than 600 tons of coal in stock.(33) In the streets of Perth morale reached a new low as people queued, often unsuccessfully for hours, outside empty shops. It was clear to all that even voluntary rationing

rationing had failed.(34) Coal was soon rationed and there was even a Cheese Order and a subsidy on potatoes. With December came the National Rationing Scheme for sugar, and while some complained, others had the good sense to realise that the people in London were much worse off.(35) There, a whole range of foodstuffs was almost impossible to obtain - sugar, tea, butter, lard, margarine, dripping, milk, bacon, pork, condensed milk, rice, currants, raisins, spirits and Australian wines.(36)

While all these changes were swirling through society the Town Council were manfully doing their best to encourage the citizens to grow food. While public parks were being ploughed up all over the land potatoes were planted even in Wellshill Cemetery and allotments were laid out at Jeanfield.(37) Pigs were fashionable and lands near the Smallpox Hospital and the swimming baths were all cultivated.(38) Craigie Knowes was next on the schedule and nearby residents were given free supplies of cabbage plants and seed potatoes.(39) Then, in rapid succession came Viewlands Place, Rose Crescent, Windsor Terrace, Queen Street, Feus Road, Park Place and Athollbank.(40) All of these were developed in conjunction with the Food Economy campaign organised by the Food Controller, William Asher, the city's sanitary inspector, whose duties as such earned him another £30pa. (41) He had a lot to do - find ploughmen to show how cultivation could be done, organise cookery demonstrations in the City Hall, supervise livestock, find new areas - Craigie Golf Course, three fields at Pitheavlis, Pickletullum, Goodlyburn and Gallows Road.(42) Naturally, he needed support and Food Control Committee of 12 was established.(43) With a maximum of 12 there was to be one from labour, one female and one each from the twn city wards. Their Food Control orders carried the full sanction of the law and by then Asher arranged for cows to graze on the two Inches and begin the cultivation of Moncrieffe Island Golf Course.(44)

As one might expect did not stand by and see their standard of living disintegrate with the rise in prices. They fought back with wage demands. Among the first to do so were the members of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employees and Allied Workers(AUCE)at the Co-operative Society. They demanded a war bonus in late January.(45) As the directors had just awarded them a rise of 1/- a week, they refused. Simpson, the AUCE organiser, came to Perth and at a meeting of the 300 Co-op employees asked for "recognition of their Trade Union."(46) There was no response. At the AGM of the Perth branch of the AUCE the Co-op directors were described as "tyrannical."(47) Alarmed by the bad publicity, which was widely exposed in the press, the directors immediately conceded 2/-,

2/-, but not through the AUCE.(48) The union struck back - "The Board of Directors of the Co-op Society are mostly non-Unionists" and 264 of the 357 employees earn under 20/- weekly. They proudly rejected the 2/-.(50) This caused consternation in the Perth Trades Council, but they condemned the "brutish tactics" of the AUCE.(51) Simpson was immune to criticism and pressed on trying to enrol as many assistants, milliners, dressmakers as he could.(52) Plumbers were next. In 1914 they had 9½d an hour, advanced by 1d hour war bonus in January, 1916 and then ½d an hour in February, 1917. That meant that they now had 11d an hour, but they wanted 11½d.(53) Teachers pressed for their war bonus of £4-5, which they got in March, followed by a scale to £80Pa in October. Janitors supported them and they got 2/6d weekly.(54) In May the bakers demanded a colossal 7/- a week increase.(55) They already had won two rises of 2/- and 3/- therefore the masters decided to offer them only 4/-. The bakers retaliated with a threat to strike in May. This was enough for the masters to give way and they conceded 5/-, which immediately forced up the cost of a loaf.(56) Bread was now 1/1d a loaf. It was September when the bakers threatened strike action again and the masters settled quickly.(57) The highest paid tradesmen in Perth were the printers.(58) In 1913 their wage was 32/6d and in 30 months they had wrestled no less than 13/6d from their employers - 2/- on 10 July, 1915; 2/- on 24 June, 1916; 2/6d on 9 December, 1916; 2/6d on 19 May, 1917 and 4/6d on 19 November, 1917. With 46/- they still were not satisfied and demanded another 4/- to make 50/- a week. This roused anger among the public and envy among the other unions. Even more annoying was their published statement of 3 June, 1917 that they were opposed to the employment of women in their trade.(59) The least selfish group were the engineers in the Amalgamated Engineering Union.(60) At a protest meeting held in late January they were more interested in the quality of housing in Perth for workers than their own pay packets. At a similar meeting, a month later, they suggested that unions should merge for greater strength and unity. Throughout all these trades militancy was increasing and Marxism was clearly spreading.(61)

The group of workers who caused the most trouble for the Town Council was the National Union of Gas Workers. Rattled by the Ministry of Munition's Leaving Certificate HM14 that "Workmen employed in the Gas Undertaking would further be subject to the Provisions of Part 1 of the Munitions of War Act 1915, which prohibits strikes and lock-outs" they were not satisfied by the 2/- rise recently given.(62) Their secretary, J. Macken-

Mackenzie argued that "it was an increase of wages and not as a war bonus to be taken away at the pleasure of the Council."(63) He further suggested that if the Town Council disagreed they should call in the Arbiter. They refused to do so, simply saying: "It's a war wage rather than an increase."(64) To make their point they openly refused rises to the gas manager and a female in the showroom.(65) A month later, when the gas workers and metermen wanted a rise Mackenzie was careful to claim 8/- "founded on awards granted."(66) The Town Council stalled for time and Mackenzie warned them that if the Arbiter came he would get at least 4/-. (67) Still the Town Council refused to call him in and the union reminded them that they came under the Munitions of War Act and they had to call him.(68) Finally, Sir James Urquhart was appointed Arbiter and in late September he awarded "3/- to all."(69) This aroused "great dissatisfaction" and they protested.(70) When the gas collectors were subsequently denied a rise a mass meeting of the National Union of General Workers was called for 29 December at the gas works with meter and gas fitting men, street sweepers, firemen, lighting, work and paving employees at which they decided to strike "as a protest" against the Town Council and its rejection of their 8/- claim.(71) As the strike was to take place on 3 January, 1918 the Town Council asked the Minister of Munitions for "advice" and they then held "a special meeting." The carters too were restless and announced that their formidable leader, Hugh Lyon, was coming to Perth to argue their case.(72) It was not till May that his argument was presented: as other burghs had awarded carters between 4/- and 5/- a week extra he wanted 1/- a day more for his men.(73) In June they got 3/- more, but were not pleased and the issue went to arbitration.(74) In November he asked for 20/- on the pre-war rate and time-and-half for overtime.(75) They were awarded another 4/-, but were again dissatisfied and again threatened to strike on 10 December.(76) The Town Council ignored them and they did not strike, but again requested the judgment of the Arbiter. (77) The scavengers were nearly as much trouble. In May they demanded a rise and three months later got 2/-.(78) By that time there had been another surge in the cost of living and they wanted a further 6/-.(79) The Town Council were still debating this claim when, near the end of the year, the scavengers lodged yet another wage demand for a 2/- addition, making a total of 8/-.(80)

Every other group of workers employed by the Town Council followed the lead of the above unions and lodged their demands: in January, five

five female cleaners received 2/- war bonus; in April a demand came in from Mill Street and Canal Street wash-houses; in October the police demanded 8/- and a month later got 5/-.(81) The last request had horrified the authorities and they were quick to award senior officers new scales in November.(82) In June the watermen tentatively asked for a war bonus, but by the end of the year were claiming 8/-; the bell-ringer also submitted a claim in June; firemen had also asked for a rise in June, but when nothing was done some quit the trade union; the rest quickly got 7/- but three days later were back for more.(83) The most difficult group in June were the electricity men. Eight of them got war wages of 2/-, but instantly demanded a rise in their basic rate and were given 4/-.(84) When they discovered that their colleagues in other cities had been granted 12/- they petitioned for 12/- and for an Arbiter.(85) Both claims were rejected and the point was raised - do electricity workers in a gas plant come under the Munitions Act?(86) The eight workers then threatened mass resignation, but were again refused. To the astonishment of all - they demanded a further 10/-.(87) A few days later the Perthshire Advertiser ran a column: "THEY MUST BE JOKING!"(88) However, the Arbiter, Sir Richard Lodge, arrived in October and awarded them 5/-, but with the warning that "the compulsory payment of war wages, 12½% on earnings shall not alter or become part of their time rates."(89) Town Council plumbers in June got 3/- to 4/- war bonus; in July roadmen asked for more but did not get their 3/- till the end of the year; the Inches men aslasked for a rise in July; and the paviors got 1/- in August and a few months later demanded another 8/-.(90) October saw claims from lighting men, who got 1/-; switchboard attendants, who got 3/-; fitters, who got 2/- to 5/-; and joiners, who got 7/-.(91) Then cemetery men got their 3/- in December.(92) Even the white-collar staff on whom the Town Council thought they could rely for support constantly pressed for increases: in January £20 to the senior lady clerk in the City Chamberlain's office; 4/- to a clerkess with the Town Clerk; 4/- to three in the City Chamberlain's office(two female); 2/- to two in the Burgh Surveyor's office(one female); 2/- for nine men and 1/- for six females in the Gas Treasurer's office; 2/- to five men and 1/- to four females in the gas department.(93) Senior staff working for the Town Council were careful to have their increases added to their salary rather than as a war bonus - the second assistant to the City Chamberlain got £20 "as a salary increase rather than a war bonus."(94) It did not work for all. In October, when the lady clerks of the gas office asked for another 6/-

6/- it was refused, so they all resigned.(95) Such a wide range of rises throughout society raised wages by some 30% in 1917 alone.(96)

But it was in the industrial sector that the real crisis would come. North British Dye Works had survived "an exceedingly serious year" in 1916. (97) Trade had fallen, costs of dyestuffs, coal, packing materials had all risen and delays in rail transit had been equally damaging. Some 40% of the male staff had gone and the reduction in the number of mechanics was "a troublesome factor." The steady stream of decorations and casualty lists continued throughout the year.(98) The decision of the Arbiter, Sir Thomas Munro, agsint ten leading dye firms on 9 December, 1916 in Glasgow was regarded as a tremendous victory for the Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades.(99) Briefly, this meant a rise of 8/- per week to all timeworkers over 18 years, with 5/- to youths and girls; 22½% to piece-workers earning under 35/-; 17½% to piece-workers between 35/- and 45/-; 15½% to those above.(In rapid succession all the major firms accepted and paid out this war wage, escept John Pullar and Sons, Dyers and Cleaners, Perth. A gauntlet had been flung at the feet of the union and they would most certainly pick it up. On 30 April, William Rushworth, General Secretary, demanded 10/- a week "over pre-war rates due to the enormous increase in the price of food-stuffs - in order to live abov: starvation level - - Your workers have become the lowest paid workers in Scotland."(100) The firm's reply was curt - the rise would add £60,000 pa to their wage bill without any increase in production, while they strenuously denied the charge of cheap labour on starvation wages. The union cleverly applied pressure on the Association of Master dyers and Cleaners in Scotland in order to isolate Pullars.(101) Meanwhile, the union organised "a crowded and lively rally" in the City Hall on Friday, 8 June, which the press described as "THE RISING OF THE DYE WORKERS!" There were five speakers - Councillor David Bruce, foreman baker in the Co-operative Society and President of the Perth Trades Council; Mrs. Jessie Jardine, young war-widow, Alexandria, Vale of Leven, who worked at the Turkey Red Company; John Teevein, Lennoxtown, Chairman of the Glasgow District Council of the Dyers' Union; Hugh Sinclair, gas worker and J.M. Rae, Secretary of Perth Trades Council. Bruce claimed that the wage demand was for a war wage and as there were now 600 dyers in Perth "we must be organised!" Mrs. Jardine spoke of her meagre 11/- a week till the union got them 7/- for women and 11/- for men as a war bonus. She mocked the Pullars' argument of rising costs: "I do not believe they pay much more than they did

6/- it was refused, so they all resigned.(95) Such a wide range of rises throughout society raised wages by some 30% in 1917 alone.(96)

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did before the war for their dyestuffs and still they plead poverty, every time!" She went further: "If you get a costume or a suit dyed today, you have to pay double the 1914 price for it. Where does the difference, the profit go? To the worker? No fear! We would not get a penny out of it but for the Trade Unions. We in the dyeing trade know what the work costs, we know that, after all, dyestuffs are not so greatly increased. But we do know that the charges for our work are about doubled, and what we want now is better wages, better conditions and shorter hours. We don't want a strike!" Teevin told how, in pre-union days, girls in Glasgow only had 6/- a week, while he, as a dyer, only had 18/4d for a 56 hour stint. "Now, thanks to the Trade Union, girls in Glasgow, under 18 years, have 14/-!" He reminded his listeners: "Sir Thomas Munro said there should be a 7/- war bonus for women and 11/- for men - - Your employers say they cannot give you a rise, but you are being bluffed! You are the people making profits and surely the day has gone when you had no say? Join the Union, now!" While Hugh Sinclair confirmed that "Perth is a dear place!", Rae reminded the audience that "all 23 trades in the Trades Council have given rises of 4/- to 5/- since 1914 with one trade having three rises in just a year!" A committee was then elected.(102) By the time a second mass meeting was held on Thursday, 14 June there were 1,000 in the Dyers' Union. (103) Once again, Bruce and Mrs Jardine urged the 1,500 in the City Hall to enlist in the union at once. This time Rushworth spoke. He recalled the struggle to establish a dyers' union in Perth 1911-1912 and described how, in Glasgow, he had won rises of 12/- for girls, while in Perth the highest rise, for bakers, was only 5/-. He admitted that Pullars had been a good firm, but "There is more profit being made now in dyeing and cleaning than in any trade in Scotland - - Capital has no conscience. The employer is only concerned as to what profit he is going to get - - Why do men get 30/- and women 16/- for the same work? This will have to be sorted out after the War."(104) Sinclair added his piece by commenting on the high TB rate in the city and the fact that wages had only risen by 5%, while food costs had risen by 98%. Rae finished the meeting with a rousing cry: "Non-unionist labour is a menace to the workers' liberty!" That night, Rushworth asked for an Arbiter, while the editor of the Perthshire Advertiser reflected: "These are extraordinary demands, but Unions cannot be ignored in 1917."

The firm's directors objected to "the harmful agitation" and pointed out that they had not uplifted any salaries since 1916 and had, indeed,

indeed, "lost a substantial part of their capital" which they could prove if the union examined their books. While the Perthshire Advertiser on 19 June observed that "Dyeing is not a fortune-making trade" the editor, a week later, made a sensible comment: "Perth as a city is deeply, too deeply for its own good many think - - closely connected with the dyeing industry - - a very large proportion of the city workers now find themselves at the edge of the precipice whiether they have been brought by the 'one industry dependence of Perth. They are shackled to a trade which is, in its essentials, a non-productive one."(105) Other commentators noted that freight charges in the city had risen by 12½%, while raw cotton had gone up from 5d to 1/7d.(106) On Thursday, 21 June yet another meeting was held in the City Hall attended by another 1,500. The usual speakers were there - Bruce, Rushworth, Simpson, Mrs. Jardine, Rae and a Mr. Farquhar of the NUR.(107) Bruce began with a denunciation of the fact that some of the girls in Pullars only have 13/- and he urged Government to sudsidise wages during the war. Simpson demanded that the milliners and dress-makers of Perth be organised and finished with the ominous, "We want non-unionists cleared out of the dyeworks in Perth once and for all!" But it was Rushworth that people had come to hear. He described how a 1914 carter in Perth had 18/-, but now had 39/- to 47/-, while, in Glasgow, one firm had given all its employees a war bonus of 6/-. Even P. and P. Campbell had given 1/- to 4/- in bonuses, but not Pullars. They had rejected a claim in 1915 and could do the same again. He proposed a two-month trial period with a 10% rise to all workers and if business fell by 10%, then the rises would be returned. If the directors refused, then let them meet the trade union in open debate "before the citizens of Perth." He scorned a Pullars' ad: "We have been working for no profit throughout the war!" And he finished with the mocking comment - "So there's no point looking at their books!" Rushworth was nothing if not inventive. He soon wrote again to the directors suggesting a small war tax be placed on all goods to be used exclusively for increased wages to workers. He was convinced that when customers were told of this they would gladly pay. If, after three months, it was found to be detrimental to the firm it would cease. The alternative to all those was simple - arbitrate.(108) The editor of the Perthshire Advertiser realised the significance of this challenge: "PERTH IS A CITY ON THE BRINK OF AN INDUSTRIAL WAR."(109) Yet again, the firm dismissed the proposals as "commercially impractible."(110) They had already given rises in December, 1915 and again in December, 1916, not to mention the generous

generous allowances given to soldiers' dependents. Meanwhile union leaders had written again to the Employers' Association of the Dyeing and Cleaning Trade of Scotland asking for a conference.(111) As a precaution they had also given H.J. Wilson, Chief Industrial Commissioners' Department, Whitehall, the statutory 21 days' warning "that a dispute is imminent."(112) They also wrote to the firm, as required by DORA and the Munitions Act, giving seven days' warning.(113) The editor of the Perthshire Advertiser caught the air of panic on 7 July - "DYERS' STRIKEIMMINENT: A FIGHT TO THE FINISH - For the first time in the existence of labour in this Perth industry, the wages problem has ceased to be local and has become a British trade dispute." For the first time 1,400 members in the Perth branch of the Dyers' Union would collect strike pay.

For some unexplained reason the Board of Trade delayed their reply and the union again took the initiative on Wednesday, 18 July when they summoned their fourth rally in the City Hall with an even larger crowd of 2,000.(114) Again there were the familiar figures - Rushworth, Mrs. Jardine, Rae - plus Mr. Munro of the NUR and Mr. Beaton of the Shop Assistants' Union. Mrs. Jardine spoke of the need for munitions work in Perth, while Beaton announced that Edinburgh's dress-makers had just won a rise. But again it was Rushworth they wanted to hear. He told the audience that the Masters' Association had refused to negotiate and that Pullars had rejected his claim three times. He pointed out the anomalies - the lowest paid, unskilled female in Glasgow has 19/-, but a skilled 20 year old in Pullars only has 16/- and if younger then 13/-. Yet a lb of butter cost 2/2d and a loaf was 1/6d "and for this they work from 6am to 5pm - for a lb of butter, a dozen eggs and a loaf! How do they pay the rent? The pre-war £ is now worth only 3/6d - - Even the traditional sweated industries have 16/9d to 22/- a week now. 90% of Pullars are in the union, but those at Tulloch are afraid of losing their houses - - You have not joined the union for a bit of fun - - I have been in 14 strikes and I have won 14 times!" He then issued a ballot paper which read - "Repeated efforts have been made by my Trade Union officials with a view to convincing you of the justice of my claim for increased wages during this abnormal period through which we are passing, such efforts, unfortunately, have failed meantime. Iam, therefore, compelled to adopt the only course now open to me, if I am to safeguard my right to live. I therefore tender to you7 days' notice that I shall terminate my employment as from the above date(1 August, 1917)." The union were, in fact, anxious to avoid a showdown at at a special meeting on 24 July in the Labour Rooms they asked for

for a delay in handing in ballots while they went to London to see the Board of Trade.(116)

Near the end of July the union turned its attention to P. and P. Campbell. The firm responded with a statement that their workers were "satisfied" because they had had a rise in June, always had overtime and never suffered deductions if slack. As for their enrolment in the Dyers' Union, they were "convinced" that their workers had been "induced to join." This aroused the interest of the Perthshire Advertiser and on 21 July they published "the facts" - that the average female wage in Campbells and in Pullars was only 16/- if 20 years and just 12/- to 13/- if younger. They published the following -

Age	Campbells	Pullars
15	8/6d	9/-
16	10/-	9/-
16½	10/-	-
17	10/3d	12/-
17½	11/-	11/6d
18	10/-	14/-
19	13/-	12/-
21	12/8d	-
28	14/-	-

This panicked Campbell's directors and they posted a notice - APPEAL TO WORKERS - "to think carefully before signing any ballot. If trade is lost it will never return. If the Works close workers will have to go and work in Munitions area and these will cease with the end of the War." They urged workers to wait for the judgment of the Board of Trade, because "We pay above Union rates."(117) Both Campbells' and Pullars' workers delayed the submission of their notices just as the news broke that the Dyers' Union had now established itself at Luncarty Bleach Works with 150 members.(118) August began with a show of trade union strength and solidarity when 1,000 NUR men marched through the city to the North Inch where they were joined by 1,000 dye workers and 2,000 others to hear Robert Smillie, President of the British Miners' Federation and John Marchbank of the NUR. Campbells' directors responded with a clear warning that if the Works closed, for any reason, 102 men would be called up.(119)

Then, on Saturday, 18 August, 681 at Pullars and 211 at Campbells - 892 - handed in their notice.(120) Pullars were still refusing to negotiate and Campbells were threatening to close down. On the 21 August the

the Perthshire Advertiser led with the headline - "PERTH STRIKE SENSATION - WILL DYEING INDUSTRY BE PARALYSED?" Still, Campbells had not given up. On Tuesday, 22 August they revealed in the Perthshire Advertiser details of their lowest and highest advances - dyers 5/9d; cleaners 6/- to 8/3d; looking over 2/- to 7/-; pickers 5/- to 6/-; despatch room 4/- to 8/9d; sewers 2/- to 9/-; stenters 2/- to 12/-; feather 2/- to 3/-; dress-makers 3/- to 8/-; milliners 2/4d to 4/-; upholsterers 2/4d to 5/-; tailoresses 6/- to 7/-; male French cleaners 7/5d to 9/3d; female French cleaners 4/- to 9/-; pressers 3/10d to 8/-; hats 5/- to 9/-; framers 2/- to 3/6d; male glazers 3/6d to 7/6d; female glazers 4/- to 6/-; white ironers 2/- to 8/-, plus, if the rises were under 5/- they would get 2/- now; if over 5/-, then 1/- now. The directors also offered "to meet a large and representative gathering" on Wednesday in the Glazing Room.(121) On Wednesday, 22 August crowds of workers circled both Campbells and Pullars crying, "We want to work through the union!" which made Pullars' directors post a notice to the effect that they were "operating at a heavy loss" and had already "granted advances late in 1915 and 1916." Consequently, they would not need fortnightly workers after 6 September, nor weekly after 1 September, after which workers could then "re-engage."(122) This forced Perth Trades Council to hold "a hasty meeting" at which it was agreed to lodge a strong protest against the Board of Trade and report them to the Minister of Labour. Further, a committee of 12 was appointed "in case of a strike" and the Co-op Society asked "to come forward with material help, such as augmenting the Union allowance." Then came a bombshell on Friday, 24 August: "after a frank discussion" Campbells and the Dyers' Union had reached agreement - there would be no strike and both would go to arbitration. This came as a surprise to Pullars who now posted another notice; 50% of the workers(31% men and 60% women)had tendered notices and the firm wanted "a new agreement." They warned that there would be pickets, but the doors would open at 12 noon on Tues day, 24 August. Although there would be no steam or power, there would be plenty to do. However, if intimidated they were to go home, write an account of what had happened and they would be paid. "Those who occupy our houses will not be disturbed within a reasonable time." That night the union "in a demonstrative mood" hired the Co-op Hall to hear Rushworth, Bruce, Mrs. Jardine and James Taylor, President of the Perth branch of the Dyers' Union warn their members that "a fight is coming!" Rushworth, just back from London, made a scathing attack on Pullars' proposal of "wages only to those who blackleg." He

He condemned the directors as "autocratic" and told the workers not to accept their insurance cards.(123)

On Saturday, 25 August worked stopped. RD Pullar sped south to the Minister of Labour with his Reconstruction Proposals - a 48 hour week, atarting at 6.30am, full-time for all, and a bonus scheme. The Perthshire Advertiser sadly asked: "The first real crisis in the history of dying in Perth. Is the fabric of the country's diligence to be ruthlessly torn down?" On Monday, 27 August word spread that RD had been summoned to London and as it was a public holiday hundreds marched to the North Inch and that evening 2,000 gathered in the City Hall.(124) Bruce thrilled his audience by telling them that the NUR were ready to join them in the strike and that was the reason RD had been called away. "Tomorrow," he said, "will be the Battle of the Gates - - it will be your Bannockburn!" Sime, Jute and Textile Workers' Union, Dundee, told of his union's fight with Cox and Company: "You have to teach the Pullars the lesson we had to teach Cox in 1911!" Taylor was more down to earth. He reminded them that the Finishing Department used to have bonuses at 12/-, but after three months it was 8/- and finally 4/-, "Bonuses mean Blood Money! - - We should have an 8 hour day and 8/- a day!" By now almost all the workers wanted everything run by the union. Finally, Rushworth spoke of the year 1913 when Pullars and Campbells agreed to pay 16/- a week to girls of 18, yet Campbells had only done so in the last six months. He condemned Pullars' new proposals as "half-thought out and needed too many supervisors - - the bonus system is the curse of the trade - - a brutally scientific method of piece work by an employer to get 12 hours' work out of a person in 9 hours!"

Although it rained on Tuesday, 28 August pickets were out at Tulloch before 6am to prevent the entry of "loyalists." At 8am they marched to Perth to find that the Works' eight gates were covered by the police. Then about 100 loyalists appeared and the striking females became hysterical, despite the attempts of union officials to quieten them down.(125) Coats were torn, police slapped, police helmets lost and all this witnessed by the directors from their windows. At 9am they closed the Works and the loyalists went home to cat-calls and howls of derision. The strikers gathered at the Co-op Hall at 11am and marched back to Kinnoull Street to demand their "lying-time." This was refused. They then marched to Tulloch and then back to Perth. That afternoon they assembled on the North Inch to

to hear Taylor and Rushworth plead for "peaceful tactics." The editor of the Perthshire Advertiser on Wednesday, 29 August described Perth as "a city under a black, industrial cloud." It was certainly noisy as strikers paraded the streets banging empty tins before they returned to the Works to again ask for their money. Again it was refused and they marched pointlessly to Tulloch and back. That week-end 3,000 watched the local sports, while AE Pullar accompanied his brother, RD, to Inverness.(126) Coincidentally, that week-end Perth's sugar supplies finally ran out and the Co-op sacked their foreman pastry baker, Councillor Bruce. The Perthshire Advertiser asked the question on everyone's lips: "COULD IT BE VICTIMISATION?" The Bakers thought so and threatened to strike. Late on Friday, 31 August, 100 loyalists had sneaked into the warehouse to deal with urgent orders.

Saturday, 1 September saw the Perthshire Advertiser headline - "HOPE FOR SETTLEMENT" together with Pullars' Proposals - a 48 hour week starting 6.30am to 9am, breakfast, 10.00 to 1.00, dinner, 2.00 to 5.00 on Monday, 17 September and Saturdays 6.30am to 9.00, breakfast, 10.00 to 1.00. Those who did not like this could do a 43½ hour week starting 8.45 to 1.00, dinner, 2.00 to 5.30pm. With, of course, full-time and a bonus system. Finally, workers were asked "to elect a committee of men and women to assist the directors prepare new scales" from 5 September. Naturally, everyone noticed - where is the mention of the Dyers' Union? Ironically, that afternoon the strikers' parade was led by a Charlie Chaplin imitator! By Tuesday, 4 September "the air in Perth was electric!"(127) Police detachments from Forfarshire and Dundee had been marching to the police station and rumour had it that 40 mounted Lanarkshire police had ridden out of the railway station.(128) At an evening meeting in the Co-op Hall the New Proposals were rejected "because there was no mention of the Union" and at 7pm about 800 massed on the South Inch and "led by the NUR and brass bands paraded the streets to the cheers of thousands!"(129) By 8pm they were filing into the City Hall where Taylor, Bruce, Rae, Mrs. Jardine, Sinclair and Rushworth awaited them. Taylor talked of strong support from Glasgow; Bruce reminded them that Pullars had "sabotaged" efforts by the Manchester Union of Dyers in 1877; Rae denied that "there was any outside agitation in the strike"; Sinclair declared that "he would rather be a hooligan than a blackleg!" and they all sang "Sandy Dewar's Strike Song." Rushworth was next. He warned them that "Pullars was trying to starve them back to work - - But help is flooding in - - strike pay can be doubled! Messrs Pullars

Pullars and the police must remember this, we are not a deteriorated little remnant of the Trade Union army, we are a regular part of the great Trade Union Army of Britain!" He scorned the Pullar visit to Inverness. "They can go to Monte Carlo if they wish!" He reported that the union had paid out 10/- strike money to men and 5/- to women and that cheques had come in from business men in Perth, the NUR and bakers. Taylor caught the fighting mood of the meeting - "Tomorrow will be fought our waterloo!" They then streamed out into the streets and sang and paraded till midnight.

Then came "the day that the Battle of the Gates became a reality" - Wednesday, 5 September. Some loyalists managed to sneak into the Works at 3am, while groups of strikers went to loyalists' houses uttering threats and howling abuse. One was even grabbed and locked in his cellar. By 5.30am, while it was still dark, 65 police arrived at the Works just before "a very large crowd" gathered at the corner of Mill Street/Kinnoull Street to greet each approaching loyalist with shouts of "Blackleg!" Most of them after "some pretty rough handling" turned for home. Four women had their hats torn off and one manager needed no less than 12 hefty constables to help him fight his way into the factory. One loyalist did not make it, he collapsed and was taken seriously ill. By 6am the "crowd was enormous and aggressive" booing, hissing and jostling the police, especially the 500 near the Main Gate. Suddenly three Lanarkshire mounted police galloped up Mill Street only to find the mob had formed a cordon of some 2,000 across Mill Street. By then only 24 female loyalists had actually got into the building and more police were called. At 7am they marched into the mob "jeered at by hilarious girls" only to be deliberately jostled by the young men in the crowd. One policeman seized his assailant and flung him to the ground. "The mob became infuriated and blows were exchanged with the police as the scene of disorderliness continued." Missiles - fruit-skins, apples, stones, old shoes, rings, oily waste and even iron punches were flung at the horsemen.(130) One struck a sergeant's horse and it darted into the crowd. "There was a mad scramble for safety with much screaming on the part of the women and at least four people were knocked down." So serious had the situation become that Chief Constable Scott summoned the trade union leaders and asked them "to restrain their supporters." Accordingly, Taylor appealed for "No rowydism" and Rushworth urged "a peaceful solution." Nevertheless, both denounced the use of horses. When they begged the strikers to disperse, they did so - reluctantly. By 8am they were back. This time their aim was to block the entrance to the warehouse

warehouse and clerical staff offices. Again there were scenes of pandemonium and fighting as one clerk was felled and a clerkess fainted. For almost an hour the mob seethed to-and-fro in a see-saw battle with the police. Scott ordered arrests - four youths and a woman. The management had had enough, they stopped work at 9am and those loyalists who had gained entry went home pursued by baying demonstrators. By 10am the crowd was "huge" and led by 100 NUR men. There was another arrest as more missiles were thrown. Then, at 11am the mob surged towards the Co-op Hall to hear Taylor denounce the Chief Constable for the use of horses and warned that if they were not withdrawn he would call for a General Strike! That afternoon there was a parade to the North Inch to hear speeches from Taylor, Bruce and Rushworth, who claimed that only 100 loyalists had got to work and all had left early.

That night there was a mass rally to the South Inch and a mile-long procession threaded its way through the city with brass band, fluttering union banners and a song, "If it wasn't for the gallant little Union/ where would the dyeworks be?", described by the Perthshire Advertiser as a "catchy refrain." Later that evening the police told the Chief Constable that they would draw their batons the next day. Things were clearly getting out of hand and it was obvious that lives might well be lost. Scott went at once to the Sheriff-Principal Wilson, K.C..(131) He agreed to summon more mounted police and together they roused James Taylor from his bed. He agreed to keep the peace and he told the NUR men to stay away. Scott and Wilson then visited RD and he agreed to close the Works.(132) Next day, Thursday, 6 September notices were posted at Perth and Tulloch at 5am advising loyalists to stay at home as the Works was closed. By 6am 1,000 strikers had gathered and they soon mutilated the notices as Taylor proclaimed a union victory. By 6.30am the area was strangely quiet. But at 9am the crowds had assembled outside the Burgh Police Court where Jessie Peddie, aged 24, of Burt's Close and an ex-Pullars employee, was charged with "intimidation under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act" in that she attempted to prevent Robert Wilkie, manager of the Postal Department from entering his lawful place of business. She pled Not Guilty and was bailed at £5 and remitted to the Sheriff-Principal. Margaret Barty or Robertson was next. An ironer from the High Street, she was charged with assault on PC Clark of Perth by slapping him. She was found Guilty and fined £1. When she left the Burgh Court she was cheered and applauded by the huge crowd outside. That evening the Dyers' Union held a Victory Dance

Dance in the Co-op Hall.

Next day, Friday, 7 September the strikers held a picnic at Buckie Braes, while J.M. Rae wrote to A.F. Whyte, M.P., "complaining about the use of Police which had led to a riot" as well as a letter to the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, Blackpool asking for help. The Perthshire Advertiser commented - "Recent events are most distressing and in the silence of the great Works it is almost eerie - - There are a plethora of go-betweens, while hundreds roam the streets, idle." The editorial was to the point: "Let us have more of a human touch, as in the old days, and mindful of changing conditions, less of the vanity which precedes a fall or the violence which alienates sympathy and brings its own Nemesis." Both sides had time to reflect, the loyalists, on their colleague, John Elder, dyeworker, who had taken ill in the scrimmage and had just died. He had worked in Pullars for almost 27 years. The union too must have paused for breath - they had kept their word, 10/- strike pay to every man and 7/- to every woman striker - but it had cost them £400. Suddenly, there was stalemate - RD was ill, "a serious nervous breakdown" and he had gone to Inverness for a rest. On Monday, 10 September there was fine weather, and, as usual, the strikers had a picnic, at Almondbank. Meanwhile six appeared in the Burgh Court and, to the astonishment of the public, it was revealed that only two of them were in the union. Four were charged with assault - Andrew Martin, dyer's labourer; David Smith, apprentice moulder; Frank Scrimgeour, apprentice fitter; William McCall, apprentice dyer - on Margaret McLeod, clerkess and Anne Harris, feather dresser, "as part of a riotous mob." Bail was set at £5 each and they were remitted to the Sheriff Court. Then Agnes Bell, 17, millworker at Coates pled Not guilty to knocking the cap off Donald Chisholm, 73, dyer's finisher. Bail was set at £5. Lastly, George Dunn NUR signal lampman, obstructed inspector Kirk of the Hamilton police and was bailed at £10.(134)

On Wednesday, 12 September it was announced that Sir James Urquhart of Dundee was to be Arbiter in the Campbells vs Dyers' Union dispute. For some dyers it was too late they had moved to other towns convinced that the Pullars would never employ them again. A few had gone to Campbells, who were "extremely busy." Campbells, always on the best of terms with Pullars, had no choice as the union forbade overtime. However, industrial unrest is infectious and other sectors were soon disgruntled - textile workers at John Shields and Company, Linen Manufacturers, Wallace Works and at Messrs Coates Limited, Spinners and Manufacturers, Balhousie

Balhousie Works. Their workers gathered on the evening of 15 September to hear Hugh Sinclair declare, "Until you are organised and have a voice in the conditions of your labour, you will continue to have grievances and no remedy." Rushworth, tired and not at his best, simply condemned "unscrupulous profiteers in the War." John C. Henry, Brechin Mill Factory Operatives criticised the 9 hour day at Shields and the 10 hours at Coates, while J.F. Syme, Dundee Textiles, observed that "all reformers are agitators in history!" They then resolved to demand a 10/- rise, that war bonuses be paid as part of wages and overtime should be at double rate.(134) Rumour also had it that AE Pullar and union officials were in London to see the Minister of Labour and that the Duke of Atholl had offered to arbitrate. These rumours were confirmed and it was learned that the management could select six loyalist representatives and the workers six too, who could be members of the Dyers' Union.

Suddenly, the harmony dissolved when notices were posted on Monday, 17 September announcing that Pullars "would re-open under the old conditions on Wednesday, 19 September at 10am." As the Constitutional reported: "It was a bombshell to the workers!"(135) Instantly the air was filled with bitter condemnation of the union and as the Perthshire Advertiser observed, "They were furious and felt betrayed." Behind the scenes there was a flurry of discussions - Mrs. Jardine and Rushworth were at the City Chambers dicussing a solution with McCash and Hunter, solicitors for Pullars, while the entire Strike Committee went to the Station Hotel to see the Duke of Atholl. That evening, at 7pm in the Co-op Hall, the workers were told that negotiations had dragged on for seven hours. And with little discussion the firm's offer was rejected and the dispute "now officially is to go to avizandum." The strikers were not pleased and were, in fact, "hostile to their leaders."(136) When the Strike Committee suggested that "in the meantime they should all go back to work - - there was a chilly silence." The only positive feature was the Duke's assurance that Pullars would agree to his judgment and that there would be a conference at 11am on Monday, 24 September. But to the union officials' horror the strikers absolutely refused. Only Rushworth could save the day: "We have won two great points - - arbitration and recognition of the Union. The Duke will allow the whole Strike Committee to be present and the Committee needs two female members and will pay strike pay on Saturday. Remember, your employers are autocrats. They have originated from a bygone age. They are still living in times 100 years ago, when the employer was entitled to own the machinery and the men and the women inside the Works. You have got to break that down. You <u>will</u> break it down by reasoning, not

not by bludgeoning and pistoling." Still not convinced, sullen and resentful, they dispersed.

The crowd gathered early on Wednesday, 19 September and "showed great reluctance to enter the Works" and some did not enter at all. Concern was expressed over RD's health, but AE Pullar curtly replied that "the illness is not linked to the strike troubles."(137) That night, at the age of 56, RD Pullar died in an Edinburgh Nursing Home, his son, RM Pullar, by his side. An excellent chemist he was regarded by his contemporaries as "clever and cultivated", a man who held a wide range of voluntary offices in the city he loved. His funeral, a few days after his death was private and he was described as "a man of kindly acts and great determination and wonderful enthusiasms - - wise and judicious, with strong convictions, absolute integrity and indomitable energy."(138) Although stunned both management and workers decided to carry on and the Station Hotel Conference, chaired by the Duke of Atholl, opened at 11am on Monday, 24 September.(139) Those present included - AE Pullar, two directors and three non-unionists vs Dyers' Union official, Hayhurst and five unionists. Ten other unionists spectated in "a generally friendly discussion."(140) Work had stopped on 25 August, twice it had almost resumed and twice disturbances had occurred. After a vote of condolence to Mrs RD Pullar, her brother-in-law, AE Pullar, announced formally "that he intended to see the Works and if no buyer, will close down."(141) Thus any settlement could not be binding on any buyer and it was agreed to meet again on Thursday, 27 September. AE Pullar then gave a rambling, defensive statement and Hayhurst, kindly, passed no comment.

As the Constitutional declared in their headline of 26 September: "A BOMBSHELL ON PERTH!" Everybody knew that if the Works closed 2,000 jobs would go and the effect on the city would be "catastrophic." The firm's annual wage bill was in the region of £150,000, not to mention cash given to pensioners and the relatives of 430 men in the army. Then there would be the loss in rates followed by far higher rates for others. Suddenly, as the implications dawned on the citizens there was near-panic, even though some realised it had nothing to do with the war, but rather "the ever-increasing competition and geographical isolation of Perth." Even the Perth Trades Council lost its composure and appealed to Dundee Trades Council for aid. The rebuff was sharp: "The Dyers' Union is very wealthy and the application is ridiculous!" By now everyone was emotionally drained and amid feelings of guilt and apprehension a settlement was soon reached at the next meeting - 5/- "emergency bonus" if under 38/- a week

week and are 18 years or more; 4/- to women over 18; 3/- if under, and all would be paid from 19 September, but only by the present management. It was not quite over. For years the scars of bitterness remained between loyalist and striker, the Pullar family felt betrayed and even the workers were changing - the days of long-serving craftsmen, priding themselves in being with a family firm were over, for good.

On Saturday, 29 September the charges against the two women were dismissed and it was not till 17 October that the five young men went to trial. It lasted seven and a half hours and was described as "long and exhausting." The defence argued that the charge was invalid as the accused were arrested at different times and could not, therefore, have been part of a mob.(142) One was acquitted and the others fined £15, £10, £5 and £1.(143) Only Campbell's problem remained to be resolved and on 8 October Urquhart's Report was released. He flatly rejected the demand for 10/- "because Campbell's had introduced a scale for men in October, 1913 and one for women in April, 1914." By August, 1914 most women were on a higher rate than the scale, while the men "were either well above or well below." There had been many rises during the war, some automatic according to the scale, some on merit and some due to the war. Thus there would be no general rise. Since 1 August, 1914 the average rises for a 51 hour week were 3/6d for journeymen dyers; 4/7d for wet cleaners, glaziers and finishers; 2/10d for females. But from 1915-1917 the firm was "unprofitable." Still, said Urquhart, "pre-war wages were too low." Therefore, he gave 4/- to journeymen dyers; 3/- to men over 18; 2/- to boys under 18; 3/- to women earning 14/- a week or more; other women 2/-; 10% to piece workers, no change in overtime; and the existing bonus of 1/- a week(paid half-yearly) would be added to wages and paid weekly. He warned: "All of these are temporary increases of remuneration, intended to assist in meeting the increased cost of living and are to be recognised as due to the existence of abnormal conditions prevailing in consequence of the war." (144) The Perthshire Advertiser editorial said it all: "It is bold and generous and shows a somewhat sympathetic leaning to DEMOS as the rises will cost at least £5,000." Everybody knew that the story could not end there, because by the end of the year "there was an enormous increase in the cost of dyes, cleaning agents, coal and labour and no improvements to the plant!"

The other factories in Perth had all suffered during this traumatic year. In mid-October, Messrs. James Burt-Marshall Ltd., Bleachers, Luncarty had sold out to Manchester Bleachers' Company.(145) At P. and P.

P. Campbell there had been more dyes available in 1916 than in 1915 due to Swiss sales and the RN's captures of German dye stocks, but shortage of skilled labour meant possible closure.(146) One director, Peter Campbell, and 70% of the men were in the army, despite the fact that the firm had huge army orders. Leonard Rigg was constantly appearing before the City Tribunal to save his men and some were asking: "IS DYEING ESSENTIAL NOW?" (147) At Shields and Company, Wallace Works, there were problems as well. In 1914 there were 181 men, but by 1916 there were only 101 left and only 23 of these were of military age. Even the females were down by 170 and many looms were idle. Although there were more exports to the USA, there was no flax from Russia. Irish flax had risen three times in price since 1914 and cotton yarn was also dearer. Still, profits in May, basically from damasks, were very good at £24,065.(148) In 1914 there had been 84 men of military age, but by 1917 there were only 20 and there were no powerloom operatives left. The Pullars' unrest had spread to Shields in September and by 3 November the employees were demanding rises in line with "other linen workers."(149) Two weeks later, they got 4/- for men and 3/- for women and 1/6f for all under 18.(150) But the managing director, H.J. Shields, dramatically refused to give this national award, as recommended by the Arbiter, because he was not a member of the Employers' Association. Legally, he was right and the union had slipped up - badly. Desperately they tried to correct their mistake by writing to Appelton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions and to Sir George Askwith as well as Mr. Henry, President of the Scottish Textile Council.(151) Meanwhile, Coates, Balhousie Works found themselves "in a welter of rising costs." 1916 had been a good year with huge orders from the War Department for sand-bags, twines and blankets.(152) Although 50 men were in the army wages had been raised in April and November, but the Pullars' affair made their workers increasingly restless.(153) Thomsons' Fair City Dyeworks had been "hit hard" in 1916, except for the laundry which did well with VAD and hospital orders. Then, in January 1917 came disaster for the 150 female staff - "DISASTROUS CONFLAGRATION!" - which totally destroyed the dyeworks.(154) Fortunately, the Pullars' Fire Brigade had saved the laundry. Still, the damage was estimated at £15,000, not to mention that stolen by thieves!(155) John Moncrieff Glass Works added an extension as they sought to meet Government orders, but Perth Bakery Company was liquidated as bread had become too scarce.(156) At the harbour, all the sheds were empty and the owner pleaded with the Town Council to allow him half-rents.

rents.

Amidst all this confusion the army was still active. With over 4,250,000 men and women in uniform their presence was felt everywhere.(157) In Perth the Army Pay Corps got priority for games on the North Inch, while maimed troops were given work in the Caledonian Workshops.(158) The BW asked for the City Hall for their concerts and an RE unit requisitioned Shield's Motor Garage.(159) Of course, the army had its problems too; even soldiers had had to get a pay rise of 6d and deserters were proving an insoluble difficulty.(160) There was still a search for horses and there were social embarrassments like soldiers on leave finding their wives and mothers under arrest for drunkenness.(161) More alarming was the growing concern for the mental health of troops who had seen action in France. Murthly War Hospital was prepared as a sanctuary for them as was a section of the Murray's Royal Asylum.(162) Sadly, some of them escaped and drowned themselves in the Tay, while others were regarded as "lunatic-deserters."(163) Others "claimed to be ill" and simply refused to return to their duties.(164) "War and the Incidence of Insanity" together with the "Treatment of Mentally Deranged Soldiers" became popular topics for medical study.(165) Murray's Asylum itself was puzzled by the fact that it had 157 civilian patients, the highest number since its inception in 1865. Doctors wondered - was it due to a greater willingness to accept mental treatment or the stress of war?(166) Recruiting, of course, went on remorselessly. In January Pullars had appealed for their last slater and glazier and for a 40 year old clerk.(167) By March every male teacher in Perth graded A or B1 under 31 years of age was called up and as the war machine continued to absorb more and more men it was debated as to whether dyeing was now "an unessential trade."(168) Both Campbells and the Trade Council continually appealed for their key workers with little hope of success, especially when families like the Pearsons could boast of having nine sons in uniform.(169)

Excessive drinking was still a national threat. Indeed, by May, it was calculated that drink, in the period 1914-1917, had absorbed 4,400,000 tons of grain and 340,000 tons of sugar, all brought to the UK at the cost of seamen's lives. This vast amount of cargo was equivalent to bread for the entire nation for 43 weeks and sugar for 33 weeks.(170) Not surprisingly, 2,000,000 people petitioned Government for an end to the drink trade for the duration. Although output was cut, pubs rationed and a strong Temperance Movement evolved, Government still felt that Prohibition "would have shattered morale."(171) After all, the pint at 8d had led to riots. In Perth itself, the Central Control Board fought a losing battle, espec-

especially against farmers who drank heavily at Hay's Market.(172) With 93 drink-sellers licensed for the city, social problems - drunken mothers, cruel husbands, neglected children - were unavoidable.(173) Convictions carried little weight. Even the Volunteer Review by the Duke of Connaught was marred by drink and a Prohibition Drive led by Annie S. Swan in the City Hall was useless.(174) As for the police, they firmly believed that the fault lay with the Liquor Control's reluctance to prosecute more rigorously.(175) Consequently, drink-related crime was undiminished - "reckless motoring", joy-riding on stolen motor-bikes, driving without lights.(176) Juveniles were as bad - "the wild boys of Perth" skipped school, broke windows and stole.(177) Not that the police had the time or the resources to cope with them. They were too busy catching bigamists, checking itinerant musicians to see if they were deserters and chasing escaped prisoners of war.(178) Escapes were now more common since enemy soldiers had been employed in farm-work and several did break out of the camp at Auchterarder.(179) Two in particular caused a lot of bother - Karl Konig and Daniel Schneider - who fled from their camp at Kinlochleven and were finally caught in Rannoch Wood.(180) In addition there were the usual duties - a £12,000 fire at Pitcairnfield Bleach Works and another at Moncrieff Glass Works; the build-up of ice on the Tay and summer-drownings; investigations into whether or not Lumsden and Mackenzie had poisoned the river.(181) Aliens still had to be supervised - Dutch, Hungarians, Norwegians and even Americans.(182) There was even a Russian, Nicolai Schwartz at Invergowrie, who because of his name aroused great suspicion.(183) Some people wanted to treat the aliens with kindness. Sir James Ramsay of Bamff, near Alyth, wanted to offer a home to 19 year old Fritz Somerkamp, student at Cambridge University, but because the student was also a Berliner the request was refused.(184) There were countless human hardships: Henry Rasche, German, living in Perth, had no money, his wife was an alcoholic and he had four children to support; Isidore Cohen, an Ottoman, wanted to come to Perth to study, but was rejected; worst of all, was the plight of Scots girls married to aliens. What category were they?(185) The Belgians were still unpopular, mainly because they lived off the generosity of the Pullars and had insisted that they be assessed as a war charity.(186) Three of them left Perth because they felt they were badly treated and to some extent, this was true.(187) Certainly, the police disliked them simply because they could not spell their curious names, like Declereq.(188) The last straw for most people came in November when the Belgian community appealed against the assessments on houses at 2 and 4 Rose Terrace, 29 Kirkgate and 42 Main Street, yet, they only paid water rates!(189)

rates!(189)

Perhaps the Town Council bore the greatest strain in 1917, hounded as they were by a pack of troubles. The worst of these was the never-ending spiral of costs. They always seemed to be going up. Air-Raid insurance and practice drills all cost money and there were plenty of these, especially after the men of the Perthshire Volunteer Regiment were sent on "permanent observation."(190) Some even thought it was worth it when an airship was reported over Perth.(191) Eventually, when the annual premium reached £72.18.4d the Town Council refused to pay and the public agreed with them.(192) Fire insurance rates were no better, but School Board outlays were even higher. For instance, the cost of meals in 1912 was £97, but by 1917 it was up to £537, while expenditure on boots in 1912 was £44 it had become £119.(193) Workmen's insurance was up because of the Workmen's Compensation(War Addition)Act 1917, and there were the huge number of pensions that had to be provided for.(194) The 27 men and women on the Pensions Committee, seven of whom were required to represent labour had their hands full all year. Separation allowances were a headache, while soldiers' pleas for aid were a heartache.(195) Then there was the annual deficit from Perth Royal Infirmary, rising steadily as annual costs soared to £11,813. The army's allowance of 4/- per soldier per day for 788 wounded was no solution.(196) Even the Fullars' Strike had been expensive with the cost of 20 police from Lanark, 7 from Forfar, 8 from Dundee, not to mention the others from Bridge of Earn, Crieff and Blairgowrie.(197) Waste paper and scrap iron still had to be collected and it was almost impossible to get a motor wagon for the city's refuse.(198) Flag-days were still commonplace, especially for Limbless Sailors and Soldiers and for Navy and Army War Workers, while arranging War Loans and trying to recruit gravediggers was another thankless task.(199) One particular difficulty was operating the Retail Coal Prices Order 1917 and keeping an eye on coal-merchants' profits, while trying to persuade the Gas Works to porduce more tar.(200)

Then there was health. 1917 was the year when the authorities fully realised that VD was indeed "The Scourge of the World" with most of the troops in hospital its victims.(201) From every side came disturbing data: quacks were causing enormous distress with their "magic remedies" and even the Murray Royal Asylum reported "more syphilis cases than ever." (202) Perth Royal Infirmary started VD treatment and laid aside four beds - two male and two female.(203) In April the MO drafted a scheme and a Special Committee was set up to study the reports of the Royal Commission

Commission of Venereal Disease and the Public Health(VD)Regulations(Scot) Act 1916, with a view to devising future plans.(204) As for children there was a growing realisation that the nation had a vested interest in their welfare. Thus more free boots were distributed, the first school occulist was appointed, a Holiday Home for Needy Children was opened in Pitlochry, a health visitor was appointed in August and the Health Centre in Princes Street, which catered for 177 mothers monthly was declared "a great success."(205) Far more children were now being vaccinated: 3 in 1907 and 299 in 1916. But there were mysteries - were births falling simply because so many men were away? were the high death rates among incurables and insane simply due to food shortages? was there something sinister in the fact that only 56% of births were registered under the Notification of Births Act 1907? why were there so many regular epidemics of diarrhoea, ringworm and rickets?(206)

Another growing conviction was the concern to improve housing by the elimination of slums.(207) Bad housing and high rents obviously sapped communal will and the State began to appreciate that some form of subsidised housing was inevitable after the war.(208) Already there were attempts to calculate post-war working-class housing needs and house factors were asked to estimate costs. This they did - £10,000 just to improve housing in the city.(209) Even in the darkest days of 1917 thought was given to the causes of poverty in an industrial society, while the Ministry of Reconstruction prepared plans for a demobolisation scheme.(210) Everything was covered - unemployment, nursing, law, education, transport, materials and scientific research.(211) Locally, plans were discussed for the siting of war relics, methods of assessing war damage and where to locate new industries.(212) Then, at a more realistic level, how to pay the conductors in the city's transport scheme - higher fares? Should females be employed at a lower rate and should "gas propoelled vehicles be hired?" The Council simply put up parcel rates and converted one bus to gas!(213)

Despite all the hardships suffered by the citizens of Perth throughout 1917 the vast majority of them tried to carry on with their support for the war. Children helped to make sandbags and gathered chestnuts for dyes; elderly ladies still knitted assiduously or served early morning teas in the railway station; and everybody went to the Allies' Grand Fancy Fair.(214) While women cooked and served meals in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Club in George Street, their menfolk enlisted in the National Service Volunteers.(215) In March the National Service Campaign Committee was set up - the two political agents in Perth, one Trades Council, the

the ex-Dean of Guild, two councillors, one Chamber of Commerce, five clergymen, one solicitor and the three newspaper owners.(216) By June, a support organisation, Perth Motor Volunteer Corps appeared and they soon purchased a Belhaven ES863 and a Commer ES632 "for emergencies."(217) Little else indeed changed - Lady Burghclere's Prisoners' Fund; patriotic concerts in the City Hall; the War-Dressings Organization and the transfer of the splendid Tayside House to the Red Cross Society.(218) The Patriotic Barrow Fund, Our Own Men Fund, entertainment for convalescent troops, subscriptions to the War Loan Movement all continued as before. Much of this patriotism, of course, owed a lot to newspapers and propaganda. Together they magnified the captures of Baghdad and Jerusalem, the entry of the US into the war and the use of tanks at Cambrai. At the same time they played down the Bolshevik Revolution, the failure of Nivelle's Push, Passendaele, the collapse of Italy and the Treay of Brest Litovsk. Arras and Messines were, naturally, "victories." But something was happening - there was a growing distrust of the printed word and the feeling that the State, under the clever direction of Perth-born John Buchan, Director of Information, just played with words.(219) This cynicism had spread. Fortune-telling was more important to many than orthodox religion, marriage was less popular and many solved their domestic problems by simply running off.(220) This mood of unsureness was obvious in politics - on the one hand, a Co-operative Party had emerged in 1917, as had a National Party under dissident Tories.(221) Even Arthur Henderson had left the War Cabinet because he thought it was time for peace.(222) Perth Trades Council had now abandoned their Liberal links and were demanding a Labour PPC for the next election.(223) Only the State was stronger - the National Agricultural Wages Board, which determined a minimum wage of 25/- despite trade union opposition; the Corn Production Act, which established a price for wheat and oats; the Trade Union(Amalgamated)Act, which made mergers easier; the Whitley Report on Relations of Employers and Employed, which suggested Wage Councils as a means to settle disputes; the Finance Act, which raised income tax to 5/- in the £; the Excess Profit Duty now raised to 80%; the War Loan, power to borrow countless millions. And all these backed by the continual use of DORA.(224) By now the State could keep citizens away from railway tunnels, force them to obtain a permit to use binoculars, deny them a drink of spirits on Saturday and Sunday and forbid them to feed their dog with scraps of food.(225) Only women seemed to be making some progress - as nurses, probation officers and even bank-tellers.(226) While the formation of the Scottish Women's Rural Institute(SWRI)in Aug-

August, 1917 and its stress on the traditional values of "motherhood and housewifery in rural areas" were welcomed, it could not conceal the fact that the female franchise was coming.(227) It was to be law in February, 1918.

By the end of 1917 the nation was exhausted, even though only those in high positions knew the true picture - that the war was costing £7,000,000 a day or £2,550 million a year; that monthly casualty lists were running at 56,000.(228) Already 58 former pupils(23 of them officers) from Perth Academy were dead and people were now speaking of "a Lost Generation."

Footnotes

1. Haste, Cate(1977) Keep the Home Fires Burning, London, p.39
2. Ibid., p.77
3. C 8/1/1917
4. Ibid., 26/2/1917
5. PE1/14/2(13/2/1917)
6. Marwick, Arthur(1977) Women at War 1914-1918, London, p.141
7. POL1/14/6(14/3/1917)
8. Ibid.,(1/2/1917)
9. Gilbert, Martin(1985) First World War Atlas, London, p.82
10. 88AR(1917) Society for the Relief of Indigent Old Men of Perth and Suburbs; PE1/14/2(10/4/1917)
11. Marwick, Arthur(1977), p.141
12. Diggle, G.E.(1975) Blighty, London, pp.87-88; Williams, J.(1972) The Home Fronts - Britain, France and Germany 1914-1918, London, p.193
13. Ibid., pp.141,224,226
14. C 2/5/1917, 4/6/1917, 13/6/1917
15. POL1/5/38(28/6/1917); POL1/14/6(22/10/1917)
16. Ibid., (25/10/1917)
17. Diggle, G.E.(1975) p.89; POL1/2/4(20/6/1917, 30/7/1917, 26/12/1917)
18. TC 10/7/1917
19. Marwick, Arthur(1977) p.141
20. Diggle, G.E.(1975) p.77
21. Williams, J.(1972) p.189
22. SB Minutes 1917

23. Winter,J.M.(1985) The Great War and the British People, London, p.225
24. Stratton, J.M.(1978) Agricultural Records 220-1977 AD, London, p.136
25. PC 4/9/1917; C 31/12/1917
26. Haste, Cate(1977) p.103; Marwick, Arthur(1977) p.141
27. Winter, J.M.(1985) p.241
28. Ibid., p.330
29. POL1/14/6(16/10/1917); TC 1/10/1917
30. Ibid., 16/10/1917
31. Winter, J.M.(1985) p.229
32. TC 25/10/1917
33. Ibid., 1/11/1917
34. Marwick, Arthur(1977) p.140
35. POL1/14/6(14/11/1917)
36. Butler, David and Anne Sloman(1975) British Political Facts 1900-1975, London, p.372
37. Diggle, G.E.(1975) p.90; TC 15/1/1917
38. Ibid., 18/1/1917, 1/2/1917
39. Ibid., 7/2/1917, 14/2/1917, 19/2/1917
40. Ibid., 22/2/1917, 15/3/1917, 7/5/1917, 25/6/1917
41. Ibid., 4/6/1917, 11/6/1917
42. Ibid., 12/3/1917, 23/7/1917, 5/7/1917, 26/7/1917
43. Ibid., 30/7/1917
44. Ibid., 13/12/1917, 15/10/1917, 19/11/1917
45. C 29/1/1917
46. Ibid., 12/2/1917
47. Ibid., 26/2/1917
48. Ibid., 28/2/1917
49. Ibid., 14/3/1917
50. Ibid., 12/3/1917
51. Ibid., 23/4/1917
52. Ibid., 27/6/1917
53. Ibid., 5/2/1917
54. Ibid., 19/3/1917
55. Ibid., 25/5/1917
56. Ibid., 30/5/1917, 4/6/1917
57. PC 4/9/1917; C 10/9/1917; MS44/1(17/5/1917); MS41/3(2/5/1917)
58. C 19/11/1917
59. MS40/4(3/6/1917)
60. Ibid., (22/1/1917, 19/2/1917)

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62. TC 4/11/1917
63. Ibid., 15/1/1917
64. Ibid., 12/2/1917
65. Ibid., 7/5/1917
66. Ibid., 4/6/1917
67. Ibid., 18/6/1917
68. Ibid., 10/7/1917, 6/8/1917
69. Ibid., 3/9/1917, 17/9/1917
70. Ibid., 1/10/1917; C 3/10/1917
71. TC 31/12/1917
72. Ibid., 4/1/1917
73. Ibid., 31/5/1917
74. Ibid., 7/6/1917, 18/10/1917
75. Ibid., 22/11/1917
76. Ibid., 29/11/1917, 6/12/1917
77. Ibid., 13/12/1917
78. Ibid., 17/5/1917, 9/8/1917
79. Ibid., 27/9/1917
80. Ibid., 13/12/1917
81. Ibid., 22/1/1917, 30/4/1917; C 8/10/1917; PC 13/11/1917
82. TC 29/11/1917
83. Ibid., 14/6/1917, 20/12/1917, 4/6/1917, 7/6/1917, 3/9/1917, 15/10/1917, 18/10/1917
84. Ibid., 18/6/1917
85. Ibid., 2/7/1917; PC 3/7/1917
86. TC 30/7/1917, 3/9/1917
87. PA 8/9/1917
88. Ibid., 15/9/1917
89. Ibid., 1/10/1917, 15/10/1917, 19/11/1917
90. Ibid., 18/6/1917, 2/7/1917, 3/12/1917, 23/7/1917, 2/8/1917, 17/12/1917
91. Ibid., 17/10/1917, 15/10/1917
92. Ibid., 17/1/1917
93. Ibid., 22/1/1917
94. Ibid., 7/6/1917
95. Ibid., 15/10/1917, 26/11/1917
96. Winter, J.M.(1985) p.232
97. C 1/1/1917
98. PA 6/1/1917, 14/2/1917, 28/4/1917, 2/6/1917, 4/7/1917, 5/9/1917

99. Harding, A.W.(1992) Pullars of Perth, Perth, p.91; C 24/1/1917
100. PA 20/6/1917
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102. Ibid., 11/6/1917; PA 9/6/1917, 12/6/1917
103. C 18/6/1917; PA 16/6/1917, 19/6/1917
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105. PA 23/6/1917
106. C 2/7/1917
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108. PA 30/6/1917
109. Ibid., 23/6/1917
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114. PA 21/8/1917; C 23/8/1917
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121. PA 22/8/1917
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1918

Morale, in the city of Perth, rose again in 1918. It was common knowledge that the Germans were suffering badly under the Royal Navy's blockade and it was felt that, if they could just hang on a little bit more, they would see final victory. Nobody thought it would be easy. Indeed, those with an eye for strategy suspected that there would be at least one more big German push. If only it did not come till the American army was in France.

Few would have been so positive if they had known that the British army now had a monthly casualty rate of 75,000.(1) even with an army of 3,759,000 such a loss could not be sustained for long as the army was being bled dry.(2) Then there was the cost. How many citizens realised that the war was costing £7,500,000 a day? How many of them, even old soldiers, appreciated the statistics - that a division needed 450 tons of supplies and that the British army had 88 divisions? How many imagined that as many as 14,000 firms in the UK were involved in munition-making? (3) Still, the army was back in the forefront of people's minds.

In Perth it had become obvious to the army that billeting on the general population had become necessary.(4) Again, those troops not actually involved in training were encouraged to attend allotments in Jeanfield or keep fit by constant swimming practice.(5) Of course, soldiers were often needed elsewhere and few of them could be spared for the 1918 harvest.(6) There were other problems - the perpetual search for horseflesh for ambulance wagons, the difficulty in training troops who were illiterate and how to control the boisterous Canadian Forestry Corps at Ardittie, near Methven?(7) Then there were the sick. Early in January the problem of discharging men who were mentally ill came to the fore.(8) A Circular Local Government Board, dated 4 December, 1917 had finally defined "Neurasthenics" as - "automatic wandering accompanied by loss of memory" and some of these were placed in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in York Place.(9) Other army patients were sent to Friarton Isolation Hospital, where, by August, there was even a Cerebro-Spinal Fever Unit.(10) Some ex-soldiers had even formed a Comrades of the Great War Association to fight for their rights.(11) Sadly, many men, like William Soutar, 1898-1943, poet, invalided out of the RN at 20, were never to lead normal lives.(12) Naturally, recruiting continued remorselessly in the face of

ROLL CALL AT NOEUX-LES-MINES, OUTSIDE BATTALION BILLETS, APRIL, 1918

of ridicule. For instance, a 36 year old calendar man and a 38 year old foreman cleaner appealed for exemption at the Tribunal and were told that "they would rather face a dirty carpet than a dirty German!" by Lord Provost Scott, who, a month later, was awarded with an OBE.(13) By June the Tribunals were calling up men in the 49-51 age bracket.(14) This caused great difficulties as these men were generally family men. One such was the last grave-digger for whom the Town Council strove hard to get exemption.(15) Fortunately, there were female cemetery workers, earning 25/- a week.(16) However, the great rush for men came in August, by which time the Tribunals had decided that dye-workers could be spared to fight. The Perth Courier headline "PARADE OF DYEWORKERS" told the story.(17) This time it was Frank Eastman who was fighting for key workers in Pullars and he put his argument well: in 1914 the Hat Blocking Department had 28 men, now there were only 3; the finishers once numbered 240, now there were only 80; there were once 6 joiners in Perth, now there were only 3, while the 6 at Tulloch were reduced to 1! Almost as bad was the fact that the firm was now short of some 300 female staff. It was middle-aged men who were now being examined - 43 year old Bristol manager; a 50 year old clerk, who bought the firm's dyes and chemicals; a 42 year old hat blocker, who supervised all the machines and a 43 year old joiner. The office had already lost 6 - 2 were dead, 1 had resigned and 3 were still serving. Even the Women's Recruiting Rally must have realised that the nation was sweeping the bottom of its barrel.(18) Still, there was a glimmer of hope. October brought the first mention in the press of "possible demobilization soon." (19)

Civilian involvement actually increased in 1918. For example, waste paper was, for the first time, collected systematically under the National Salvage Council.(20) Children scoured the city, street by street, methodically gathering every piece of scrap metal as well as "fruit-stones and hardnut shells immediately required for urgent war purposes."(21) Others made clothes for wounded soldiers, collected brambles for jam or gathered herbs.(22) Allotments were everywhere as were flag-sellers and helpers for the YMCA and Salvation Army.(23) Special efforts were made for Perth Tank Week and the Perthshire Voluntary Workers' Association who had announced that Perth's Road-Building Volunteers were now safely in France.(24) More and more War Bonds were purchased and more ground given over to vegetables, while golf courses, recreation grounds were all set aside for "cropping."(25)

"cropping."(25) There was even a closer watch kept on aliens - Moise Abramsky, Russian; Einar Gunnersen, Norwegian and "dangerous persons" like Henry Drucker, Rudolf and Cristian Fehrenbach; Toshio Go, Japanese; and Mary Rosenplaentz, origin unknown.(26) There was the usual trouble with them - was Margaret McRae, now Mrs. Hatje, an alien? who would pay for the Shy family, pork-butchers from Northumberland, driven from their home by the mob and lodged in the Queen's Hotel, Perth? what was to be done with the US males located in Perth who were trying to dodge military service?(27) With 300,000 German prisoners of war engaged in farm-work, some 700 of them worked in Perthshire, there were an increasing number of escapes, especially from the Auchterarder Camp - three in April, six in May and others in June, August and September.(28)

Naturally, drink was still a major problem and there was a steady stream of Central Control Board convictions, although the police still argued that they were not hard enough on offenders.(29) Much of the crime in 1918 was drink-related: drunken women and troops, wife assaults and the occasional rape.(30) The most common offence was bigamy, often committed by deserters.(31) Prostitution was always there, together with "maintaining a brothel."(32) Then there were the ordinary range of petty crimes: stealing bicycles, "reckless cycling" with newer offences - posing as a war hero, working as a card sharp, selling obscene prints and anonymous letter-writing.(33) Butter hoarding seemed on the increase - 52 offenders and many of them prominent citizens - as well as grafitti writing and general vandalism.(34) With normal duties covering local fires and drownings in the river and Lade it is not surprising that the police again wanted a rise - the Chief Constable claiming the Kirkcaldy scale of £275-350pa, the Superintendent £190-265pa, a 10/- war bonus for all and one day a week off under the Police(Weekly Rest Day)(Scot)Act 1914.(35) The basis for any claim was the vast range of State Regulations that the police had to impose - Food Hoarding Order 1917, Butter(Maximum Prices)Order 1917, Milk Order 1918, Meat Retail Prices Order No. 2 1918, Rationing Order 1918, Jam(Prices)No. 2 Order 1918, Potatoes Order 1918, Sale of Sweetmeats Order 1918, British Onions Order 1918 and many more.(36) They also had to keep up Air-Raid drills and warnings, now made more difficult by the presence of aircraft.(37)

The Town Council too were still struggling to meet Air-Raid insurance premiums with the same reluctance as in 1914.(38) Pensions too were a monthly drain on the city's limited resources, while the supply of food was a nightmare with its complex State Regulations - Food Orders, Enforced

Enforced Orders, National Kitchen Committees, Food Control Committees and handbooks on National Kitchens.(39) In fact, every month saw some article in short supply, such as milk in October, and hasty demonstrations on how to get round this.(40) Coal was another problem area and it was rationed in Perth from May to October, 1918 until the Household Fuel and Lighting (Scot)Order 1918 and the Price of Coke Order 1918.(41) The Belgians were still a headache with their continual moans for free books for their children and demands for more flag-days, while the tinkers were even worse.(42) A census at the end of October showed that there were 2,728 tinkers - 1,757 were rural and 491 urban, plus 309 in the army and 171 in industrial school. The problem, as ever, was how to educate their children?(43) Transport was the key to the city's well-being, but by February the tram-workers were asking for 15/- above their pre-war rates, while the July-appointed female conductors were demanding "a ladies' lavatory" plus new uniforms.(44) Given the 8/- bonus to junior motormen and the damage increasingly caused by vandals, fares had to go up in August.(45) There were other rising costs: in April janitors got 4/- and in August teachers demanded the Craik Salary Scale.(46)

In general trade unions were fairly quiet till June, only a few weeks after General Bethune's passionate appeal in the Lesser City Hall on behalf of the National Alliance of Employers and Workers "that we make a joint effort."(47) As if to show their power the trade unions held a huge demo on the North Inch on 23 June. But to show that they still had the upper-hand the Town Council refused the Perth Trades and Labour Council the use of the City Hall on Sundays.(48) They may well have done so because of their running battle with the gas workers. Gas was a vital ingredient in the nation's war machine as its by-products included ammonia, benzole, toluol and glycerine and this gave the gas workers a great deal of muscle.(49) They demonstrated this early in January when their strike "plunged the city into darkness and cut off the engines at Pullars and Campbells."(50) It took the presence of a senior official of the Board of Trade to restore peace. The following month the National Union of General Workers' Conference at York issued a new wage demand - 10/- for all workers in gas and electric undertakings and a minimum wage of 21/- to all over 21 years. Considering that this was strongly backed by James O'Grady, MP., who was also Secretary of the National Federation of General Workers, it was likely to succeed. The Town Council certainly gave the assistant gas manager £170pa and his book-keeper £120pa.(51) Then the electric workers added a demand for a 12½% bonus "as awarded by the Minister of Munitions on the decision of Sir George Askwith."(52) Further, the gas workers wanted to know: "Is

"Is Perth an undertaking?" and only arbitration could tell.(53) They had had 10/- over their wage level on 1 January plus the minimum wage of 21/- if over 18 years and 5/- if younger. Also "women employed upon men's work get the same advance." They even managed to get double time for Sundays. Next came their 12½% bonus which was paid out in April.(54) They were not finished yet. Late in April they were awarded a further 4/- if their advances were under 4/- weekly.(55) With the gas treasurer earning the huge sum of £300pa there were other rises - gas collectors got 6/- bonus in May and foremen 4/- in June.(56) By September the Town Council had had enough - no more cash would be given to them, but the Electrical Power Engineers' Association complained that some of their members were still not getting their rise above the pre-war rates nor the 12½% bonus and these were granted immediately.(57) Incredibly, as the result of another demand for arbitration they were granted a further 3/6d in October.(58)

The corporation workers had watched the success of the gas and electric men with amazement. Then they demanded arbitration as well under Sir James Urquhart and their wage problem covering sweepers firemen, lighting, power and paving men was sent to the Committee on Production.(59) The arbitration was held in Glasgow and the award, 7/- for men and 4/6d for women, was back-dated to 12 December, 1917.(60) The Town Council tried to explain that wages were already high, after all, two female clerks had 25/- each as did two female slot meter collectors and even a boy slot-meter collector had 20/-.(61) A whole string of rises followed, despite opposition from the Town Council: baths foreman 7/6d and female attendant 4/6d; burial workers 4/-; cleansing firemen 4/-; isolation staff matron £10, sister £5 cook and maids £5 each; City-Hall keeper 5/-; Town Clerk's typists 3/-; cleaners 2/-; Registrar's assistant 2/6d and a war bonus of 3/-.(62) With the superintendent of the Canal Street wash-house earning 60/- a week, the two burgh surveyors asked for "higher war bonuses", but were told that they had had 2/- on 6 November, 1916 and 2/- in January, 1917.(63) Although the town officer got 6/6d it was the June demand from the water men for a 12½% bonus that really alarmed the Town Council and they only got 5/-.(64) Three months later, thanks to the National Union of General Workers, they got a further 4/- and a 12½% bonus.(65) As the year drew to a close all the corporation workers were told to arbitrate or strike when they asked for 25/- above their pre-war rates.(66)

Carters, led by the renowned Hugh Lyon, gave the Town Council a problem when they refused a 6/- rise and asked for arbitration.(67) Sir James Urquhart awarded 7/- to the slaughtermen and the road rollermen.(68) Then,

Then, in February, the Town Council and the Co-op Society allied to fight a Motormen's Association claim for the carters - 20/- on pre-war rates and time and a half for overtime. They were given the former, but not the latter.(69) The Co-op carters were not pleased and struck demanding 25/- over the pre-war rate "which is the case in most burghs."(70) Firemen too provided an embarrassing situation. The Secretary of the National Union of General Workers claimed that Perth's firemaster had threatened "to clear out all the union members as soon as he can." He was given leave of absence, while the Town Council investigated the matter.(71) Three months later the firemen were also given 20/- over pre-war rates and a 12½% bonus.(72) The city's tradesmen were keen to enter this race for wages and in April they did so. The joiners were the first, demanding 2d more an hour and this was granted.(73) The printers were next and their rise took them to 50/- a week, while the tailors asked in vain and the bakers were given 17/- not to strike!(74)

As for the big firms in Perth it was significant that the North British Dyeworks did not publish its customary start-of-the-year report.(75) Some workers had already left Pullars convinced that it now had no future.(76) The Dyers' Union, on the other hand, felt strong. At a January rally in the City Hall, attended by 600, the local branch president, James Taylor, launched a savage attack on non-union workers. The meeting endorsed his view by voting for a closed-shop policy with an increasing penalty for those who delayed in joining.(77) The city paid little attention to this demand, being more interested in the possibility that the city might profit from captured German dye secrets. Then, on 6 March the Perthshire Advertiser announced "HINT OF DEFINITE CHANGE COMING!" and that Messrs. Eastman and Sons Ltd., London "were interested in Pullars." A week later the city found out that Eastmans had acquired "a controlling interest" and that "the Pullar family no longer have responsibility."(78) A wave of relief swept the community - there would be no closure and the famous Pullars' name would be retained. Meanwhile, the Dyers' Union had held a wage meeting in the City Hall, which attracted 1,300. This time the most vocal element were the male dyers who demanded 20/- over the pre-war rates. This irritated the women in the Ironing Department and there was "a noisy debate." Finally, it was resolved that all females in the Works over 18 years should have "at least 25/- a week."(79) Naturally alarmed by this fresh demand, AE Pullar asked the workers to send him a delegation with proposals.(80) While these discussions were underway the union revived its crusade against non-unionists arguing that they were not entitled to the latest rise and they warned them that they only had seven days left to enlist in the union.

union.(81) AE Pullar was furious: "We will not distinguish between unionists and non-unionists - - and the British people are free people and the workers are entitled to decide in regard to their membership with trade unions." That night the factory walls were disfigured by grafitti. (82) Then, on 8 April, the Constitutional announced that the firm was "UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT!" - Eastman and Sons.(83) They were careful to explain that this was not an amalgamation, but "simply providing new management." The Pullar family added their own explanation: "We have to inform you that Messrs. Eastman and Sons, Dyers and Cleaners, Ltd., Acton Vale, London, have acquired a controlling interest in this business as from 31 December, 1917 - - the Pullar family will retain an interest, but will not have any responsibility in the management."(84) Almost at once the Royal Warrant was granted to Eastmans and the latter decided to employ Campbells' workers as well.(85) On 5 June the Constitutional revealed the arbiter's pay award on the Dyers' Union vs J. Pullar and Sons Ltd., dispute - all skilled male dyers over 31 years would get 5/-; all skilled dry cleaners, wet cleaners, finishers over 31 years would get 4/-; all labourers over 31 years would get 3/-; all men aged 25-30 would get "part rises"; women on time-rates and over 18 years(except clerks and typists) would get 3/-; "merit advances" would be over and above and these will include overtime rates; the rises will start on 15 April and they will be reconsidered in six months from 15 May with a months' notice either side; they will not be paid in "slack months" except by agreement after six months; and all these are for "abnormal conditions" due to the war. While Campbell's arbitration was also being debated and the factories desperately short of coal, the "new management" were announcing the setting up of a Works Council - "at which questions affecting Works conditions and employment can be brought up for consideration by elected representatives of the workers and conferences arranged as occasion demands between the Council and the directors."(86) The first meeting, with William Eastman in the chair, took place on 7 October with the workers' representatives elected annually in two sections, Perth and Tulloch.(87) The Perthshire Advertiser on 9 October described this as "an interesting innovation" from the Whitley Report. Managers, foremen, forewomen, those under 18 years of age and those employed there for under six months were not allowed to vote. Workers' nominees were expected to be by department and they could elect their own chairman and secretary and co-opted members were allowed - two from Perth and one from Tulloch. Although there was, as yet, no constition, "the Council was in no way antagonistic to Trade Unionism - admitting the

the rights of workers' combinations and accepting it as being in accordance with the trends of modern industrial life - - the workers being as much interested in the prosperity of the business as were the directors - - it was for discussion and advice rather than administration and they would cover works regulations, meal hours, comfort, health and suggested improve,ents." Both sides agreed that the future was assured "if there was co-operation and mutual confidence."(88)

P. and P. Campbell had endured "great difficulties", but as 1918 neared its close there ere more dyes available and the full 51 hour week was restored.(89) Although wages were paid in the slack season and holidays honoured and minimum wages guaranteed for piece workers as well as employing discharged soldiers, there had been no new plant installed for years. Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks had struggled all year to keep dyeing in the list of "certified occupations" and fighting for examptions of its few, remaining skilled men.(90) Carvie and Deas Dyeworks had had a fight to challenge their workers' claim for an extra 10/- against J.C. Hendry, Organizer of the Textile Union.(91) Coates' Balhousie Works had had huge government contracts in March, when they were forced to fall back on a 40 hour week, which was then followed by a sex-scandal involving Henry Coates.(92) Steam laundries had generally done well and Perth Steam Laundry, Dunkeld Road, had had no problem in giving its workers a rise of 5%.(93) Shields' Wallace Works was less fortunate. Two of their managers died suddenly after announcing a profit of £18,917 and the Perth Textile Workers' Union demanded a rise.(94) The firm offered 4/- to men, 3/- to women over 18 and 2/- to those under, but this was rejected.(95) The union demanded 7/- for men, if over 21 years, 4/- for those 18-21 and 2/- for women under 18 years. These figures, the union claimed, were based on statistics from the Committee on Production. But they also demanded 20/- on pre-war rates and 12½% war bonus or they would hand in their notices on 28 August.(96) On Saturday, 17 August H.G. Shields, managing director, offered 1/- to 5/-, but J. Hendry of the Textile Unions refused.(97) The union wanted their bonuses plus arrears. As promised they closed the Works on 28 August without any demonstrations, held a ballot and found that only six wanted to accept management's offer and 262 refused.(98) Some 1,000 were affected by this shut-down. The workers refused to hear the views of the Chief Industrial Commissioners, collected their lying-money and sent Hendry off to London.(99) The Government knew that the strikers were adamant, they had already proved that in their previous strike in July.(100) On 8 October the arbiter appointed by the Minister of Labour, Professor J.M. Irvine K.C. gave the full award from 15 July - 2/- to men over 21 years and 1/- to

to women over 18 years than the firm had offered. The firm had the last word - there had been a lack of skilled men, too many government regulations and the cost of materials was still too high.(101)

The effect of all these rises was that by 1918 wages were, in general, roughly twice those of 1914.(102) But prices were far higher. If one takes the July, 1914 price index at 100, then by July, 1918 it was 218 and by November, 1918 it was 233.(103) In other words, prices were rising faster than ever as the war drew to its end. A 1914 blouse, for instance, once 1/3½ was now 6/11d.(104) Clothing, in fact, was never scarce, just expensive. But a 20/- 1914 food-bill was now 47/3d because eggs were 3/6d a dozen and a rabbit 4/9d, while beef 1/10d lb, steak 2/2d, mutton 1/10d and chops 1/8d were beyond the means of many.(105) Although the price of wheat, at 72/10d qtr., was falling, Perth School Board in 1918 had to pay the following for food compared to 1915: potatoes 2/9d to 7/-; turnips 3/- to 6/8d; carrots 7/- to 24/-; whole rice 24/- to 33/-; ground rice 16/- to 37/4d; sugar 32/- to 56/-; barley 2/9d to 4/6d; lentils 25/- to 61/-; flour 22/- to 26/-.(106) Perth certainly had one meatless day a week in January and laid on many samples of food economy for women.(107) In February, the city, like many others, started a meat rationing scheme, just at the time when burial costs rose again.(108) But such informal rationing schemes did not work well, despite a huge rise in rates to 2/4d in the £ to give the city some capital and formal rationing of meat, lard, bacon and margarine started in Perth on 14 July, 1918.(109) Soon, this had to be extended to sugar, butter, jam, tea and cheese.(110) Although, by summer, there were "adequate supplies", meat, in Perth, still rose by 2d lb in August, along with another 1/6d a ton on coal and coke.(111) Meanwhile the Government made sure that the public knew that prices were far higher in Germany - eggs 1/- each and a cabbage 12/-.(112) If people had known that over 760,000 German civilians were to die in the RN blockade they would have been horrified.(113)

The Government was equally anxious to hide the real situation in Britain - the food queues especially - under a mass of Ministry of Food statistics and films like "The Folk Back Home!" and slogans, such as, "Smile Across the Channel!"(114) The cinema, in fact, had suffered a heavy blow with the Entertainment Tax of 1916, but was anxious to recoup its losses through higher prices and more attractive use of colour and animation.(115) In Perth safety measures were improved, while licences continued to change hands.(116) Propaganda was used with greater skill as the war began to end to show that child welfare was close to the Government's heart and that with the Maternity and Child Welfare Act 1918 there

there would be home help schemes and clinics everywhere.(117) Many began to argue for the creation of a Ministry of Health and greater participation by the State.(118) There seemed good justification for this view in Perth as "The Spanish Flu" laid low 1,293 children and 16 teachers in September. Other factors contributed - the problem as to whether illegitimacy was increasing and how to care for the many unmarried mothers. In the city, although there was more VD, there was now a bacteriologist to deal with it. (119) There were even fewer blind and fewer elderly poor, while marriages were once againon the increase.(120) The State seemed stronger than ever and the phrase "State Collectivism" was often heard.(121) Its power was exemplified by the fact that it now taxed 8 million people compared to just over a million in 1914.(122) Not that socialist views were strong in Perth; the Town Council rejected the idea of land nationalization and was not too keen on the opening of Labour Rooms in Methven Street.(123) Women however, were continuing to make progress - the SWRI had spread to Braco and Greenloaning in April, and to Meigle and Pitlochry by October; all the junior students at Perth Academy training to be teachers were female; and women were safely ensconced in Perth's Probation Service.(124) In April the Town Council debated the Representation of the People Act 1918 and most seemed to think that it was the result of the war.(125) No doubt they all appreciated that it "enfranchised more people than all the previous reform acts put together."(126)

Then, almost with a brutal suddenness news reached Perth at 11am on 11 November, 1918 that the war was over.(127) The bells rang out from the tower of St John's Kirk, flags were put up and an evening service was held in the City Hall.

Footnotes

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29. PE1/12/1(9/4/1918, 18/7/1918, 15/10/1918, 29/10/1918)
30. POL1/14/8(17/7/1918, 14/10/1918, 7/5/1918, 10/5/1918, 22/6/1918)
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1918-1922

When news of the ceasefire reached Perth on 11 November, 1918 the whole community was swept by a wave of gratitude and relief. It did not last long.(1) The reason was simple - the people were exhausted and there was no place for jubilation, whatever hysterical Londoners may have done.(2) This was in vivid contrast to Mafeking Night on 21 May, 1900 when the entire city had gone mad with joy. Now it was very different. Indeed, there was even a feeling of disbelief that such an ordeal as the war could at last be over. The authorities sensed the mood and declared a public holiday on 13 November. It took a long time to arrange Peace Day Celebrations and they were not fixed till Saturday, 19 July, 1920 and to make sure that they were sober the Central Control Board decreed that all licensed grocers would close for the day and pubs would only be open from 4.00-6.30pm.(3)

This did not apply to serving soldiers - they just wanted home and out of uniform as soon as possible. It had long been suspected that there would be problems in disbanding such a large body of men, but attempts to work out some kind of priority were swamped by the rush.(4) Perth was witness to an early example of "demob blues" - on 18 November one of the first groups was being discharged from the City Hall.(5) There were nine local men, who had all worked for the Town Council's Roads and Streets Department before the Reservist and the eight Volunteers had gone off to fight. Now they wanted their jobs back. A worried burgh surveyor told the Town Council; "We can't take nine back! It will add £400 to a £1,300 wage bill. Anyway, there is no work for so many! We would have to sack five or six of the present force and don't forget the pension problem!" Fortunately, three of the temporary holders were over 70 years old. Nonetheless, this incident shows the root of the problem - the men wanted back as soon as they could before their jobs disappeared. Others felt the same, especially the 10,000 held in camp at Folkestone. They rioted on 3 January, 1919.(6) In February, another 3,000 rioted in London and others in Glasgow, Epsom and Coventry. In March, lives were lost when the Canadians rioted in North Wales and in July, Luton Town Hall was burned down. The military did the best they could. By 8 January, 1919 300,000 had been released and thereafter 4,000 daily.(7) Many blamed Lloyd George's eager-

eagerness to get voters, but that did not stop other disturbances at Wolverhampton, Salisbury and Swindon.(8) By August, 2,732,105 men had been demobbed, but this did not deter families from pleading for the earlier release of their loved ones on compassionate grounds.(9) Scotland shared the unrest - the Black Watch refused to board a ship which they suspected would take them to fight in Russia, 100 HLI felt the same in Edinburgh, 200 Scottish Rifles at Leith, the 459th Agricultural Company at Stirling, 700 Seaforths at Cromarty and minesweeper crews at Rosyth.(10)

While most of the 5,500,000 men who had served in France probably had no illusions left, many civilians still had. They seemed to think "that the war has changed the condition of life" and that a better world would evolve.(11) In Perth there was a clear conviction that the future would be happier, certainly for the young.(12) After all, education was to be compulsory to the age of 14 and this was to be followed by day-continuation. Primary fees, part-timers, early-leavers would all be things of the past.(13) There was even a strong belief that normalcy was just around the corner. Many in the city thought so. The General Accident had "a rapid recovery" as motor-car insurance took off.(14) Their income, which was £1,709,000 in 1917, soared to £3,315,000 in 1920 and £4,965,000 in 1923. In fact, "business euphoria" swept Scotland.(15)

Unwinding, however, proved to be a slow and lengthy process. Within a week the National Kitchen Scheme was abandoned and Aliens' Restrictions Orders relaxed and "all General Orders for the Police cancelled."(16) Then it was announced that "our alien friends" had no need to report regularly.(17) Prisoners of war were different, they still tried to escape and many stole what they could.(18) Pigeons were freed and Lighting Regulations for Shop Windows were lifted.(19) The War Office even asked the Town Council if they would like any war relics.(20) In January, 1919 work began on the rebuilding of the harbour-railway and some war charities were closed down.(21) Flag-days for Discharged Soldiers and Sailors were allowed to continue.(22) Then, to the great joy of all - the Belgian refugees left Perth in small groups.(23) By October they were all away and RM Pullar formally thanked the Town Council for the use of the City Chambers and the rate-free accommodation for the Belgians.(24) Jeanfield residents asked that the balance of their Comforts Fund go towards a Memorial Fountain in the park, while the Town Council proposed that the city's restoration of St. John's Kirk be its contribution.(25) Sadly, they were to find that a compilation of a Roll of Honour was no easy task. In March, boat-hiring began again on the Tay and the North Inch golf course was restored.

restored.(26) Plans were made for the traditional Perthshire Agricultural Show on the South Inch and the laying of underground telegraph lines recommenced.(27) April saw the first civilian flag-day - the Children's League of Pity -and, as adverts reappeared in railway stations, the city's councillors returned from war.(28) As treats were laid on for Children of Deceased Soldiers, German and Austrian ex-prisoners of war marched to the general station for their journey home.(29) Early in June, the army finally left the Poorhouse, selling off their surplus supplies, while the Red Cross quitted the Old Infirmary in York Place.(30) Just as peace was formally announced the Pullar family presented the Perth and Perthshire Memorial Fund with a splendid donation of £1,000.(31)

The unwinding process speeded up in 1920 with the abolition of conscription and the Liquor Control Board.(32) Resentment towards conscientious objectors began to fade and even war relics lost their popularity.(33) Perth had no fewer than a tank and six guns to place around the city, but the manager of King James VI Hospital refused any of them.(34) Craigie Knowes allotments were closed and Jeanfield allotments continued reflecting local interest in them.(35) The Town Council also had no great enthusiasm for any more memorials by 1920 and refused to donate cash to the Zeebrugge Memorial; it went, instead, to paint seats around the North Inch.(36) Some services were still inadequate - postal delays to the US, "which is not so regular or expeditious as before the war due to lack of fast steamers and as conditions are not yet normal".(37) Then, as the year ended, the Army Pay Corps evacuated the corner of Atholl Street/Kinnoull Street and Pullars quickly moved in to convert the building into workers' flats.(38) Unbelievably, the Town Council still did not know what to do with its "war souvenirs" till the summer of 1922(but only after selling the tank's engine to a firm in Motherwell)when the tank went to Craigie Knowes and the Turkish guns to the Barracks.(39) There was nearly as much trouble with the city's Roll of Honour - particularly for the county - if a man was born in one parish and lived in another, which could claim him?(40) It was far easier to ban the grazing of cows on the North Inch.(41)

The return of the BW battalions made many people ponder on what the war had cost.(42) But it was obvious that many of the returning soldiers were restless and found it hard to settle.(43) Some offered their skills to the Royal Irish Constabulary and even more to the "Black and Tans." By July, 1920 the TA had revived and was soon advocating the formation of a Defence Force.(44) By August, 1920 the RAF were actively seeking recruits in the Perth area, while BW recruiting started again in May, 1921.(45) There was no loss of enthusiasm for service with the colours, rather the

the reverse, as young men listened in awe to the stirring tales of their elders in the Ex-Servicemen's Club or the various TA Associations.(46) Much of it was sheer romance, because it was generally accepted that there would be no major war for the next ten years at least.(47) In Perth, the Town Council and the military began to irritate each other again - the former refused the army a military sports ground near the Barracks and the latter responded by turning their canteen into a retail unit.(48)

It literally took years for even estimates of casualties to be collated. It was relatively easy for schools - Perth Academy lost two teachers and 165 pupils; Glenalmond - seven teachers and 157 pupils; Morrison's Academy - one teacher and 72 pupils; Ardvreck - 64 pupils; herein lay the seeds of the "Lost Generation Theory" of later years.(49) Businesses were in a parallel situation: Pullars lost 61 and the CA 38.(50) As for Scotland as a whole, 573,000 served and 116,000 died, Glasgow alone losing 18,000 or 10% of its adult males.(51) Perth had been equally patriotic: out of 10,121 men of military age, 3,997 had served and c.1,000, some 25% of those who served or 10% of the adult males, had perished.(52) In the county, out of 35,199 men on the rolls, 11,357 had served, which is 32.6% of those available.(53) Sadly, the dead were mainly young infantrymen, aged 20-40 years, although a rather higher proportion were middle-class officers.(54) At the personal level, one family's story was typical: Tom Pearson was a mason, earning 50/- a week. He lived with his wife and a daughter who made 24/- a week.(55) He had ten sons - Sgt. David, 11th Royal Scots, who lost two legs and had a pension of 32/6d a week; Pte. Robert, 10th Scottish Rifles, KIA; Sgt. Tom, 3rd Seaforths, still serving; Pte. John, 10th BW, working; Pte. William, ASC, still serving; Pte. James, RFC, still serving; Pte. Joseph, 3rd Scottish Rifles, still serving; Pte. Charles, 1/6th BW, mother gets 6/9d; Pte. George, 14th BW, working; Pte. Alex, 52nd Graduating Battalion, Gordons, still serving. Mrs. Pearson wrote to the army asking that the youngest, Alex, be released to carry his crippled brother to their tenemnt toilet. The nation was left with 190,000 widow pensioners and 10,000 orphan pensioners.(56) The human suffering was immense - Perth had two blind soldiers, five permanent cases in the Asylum and 253 "seriously wounded" in Perth Royal Infirmary in 1919.(57) Even as late as 1922 there still 45 of them receiving daily treatment, not to mention the dozens of mentally crippled ex-soldiers released to roam the countryside to the annoyance of the police.(58) The cost in sterling was enormous, equivalent to at least eight years' peaceful wealth and was continuous, althouh diminishing - 1919 £692m; 1920 £292m; 1921 £189m.(59) A few warned that this was "appalling" as the army would soon disintegrate.(60)

(60)

The Town Council were particularly devoted to the idea of normalcy and to them the period 1918-1922 was essentially a Reconstruction Era. Although prices were still rising in Perth there was a feeling of speculative boom as wartime profits were spent.(61) They felt that pre-war conditions would return and with them a demand for British goods, hence the wish to return to the Gold Standard.(62) They were full of hope as they looked at the city's prospects and had many plans - to turn Kinnoull Hill into a recreation park, to eliminate smoke pollution, develop hydro-electric power, control annual flooding, bring in new industry and develop radio communication.(63) But none of it was to be. Basically, the city was continually short of power 1919-1921 and there were periods of fuel economy, coal emergency and short supply.(64) There were times when there was so little coal that gas could not be made or when gas pressure had to be reduced to save coal, not to mention times when the coal soared by 6/- a ton.(65) There were still problems over food-supply and difficulties working with the Food Control Committee, the Profiteering Committee and the Perth Allotment and Garden Food Association.(66) Even as late as 1921 allotments were considerd "vital" in the city's food requirements.(67) There was also a shortage of money and in 1919 the city asked the Governemnt for cash and tried to get a Victory War Loan.(68) They even considered a Falkirk proposal of a National Bank which would give local authorities interest-free-loans, but when this fell through they started an economy drive by taking away officials' home-telephones.(69) The War Pension Acts 1915-1920 were an especial headache even though 11 of their members were on the Pensions Committee.(70)

There was one particularly embarrassing effect of the war - the run-down of fire equipment, which the Town Council lacked the money to replace. If they hoped for a conflagration-free period they were disappointed. A Hillyland fire in January exposed details to the press that "their pipes were full of holes", but the puchase of a new tractor for the fire engine and a dispute over tied houses delayed any new equipment.(71) Disaster struck with a £250,000 fire at P. and P. Campbell's Perth Dye Works in May, 1919, which was detailed in the Perthshire Advertiser - "SEVERE CRITICISM OF BRIGADE."(72) The insurance investigator's report read: "the equipment was most primitive and ineffective, a disgrace to a City the size of Perth - the Fire Engine was wretched and a comic apology!" to the horror of the local Rotary Club there was a threat not to insure any business in Perth.(73) The Town Council promised to improve their equipment, but before they could there was an even more disastrous fire at Messrs. A. Bell and Sons, Horners Lane.(74) The loss in whisky was

was estimated at £300,000 and a further 100 people had lost their homes. The Town Council had no option, they bought a new fire engine at once. Four months later they even had a new Fire Station in King Edward Street, thanks to the generosity of Miss Rachael Pennycook of Craigie, who earned herself the Freedom of the City.(75) This enebled the city to buy two fire engines. Meanwhile, firemen, realising how important they were, took the chance to demand a weekly wage of 70/- and later a scale to 90/-.(76) There were other fires in 1922 - a £12,000 blaze at the BB Cinema in January, and a £10,000 fire at McEwan's store in May.(77) A sign of modernisation was the replacement of the old brass headgear with leather helmets.(78)

The police were convinced within months that normalcy had returned, at least as far as crime was concerned - shebeening, poaching, thieving, stone-throwing, vandalism, children street-begging, grafitti writing and reckless driving were all back again, as before.(79) Specific war-crimes were dwindling - passing dud cheques, wearing uniform and decorations illegally and desertion.(80) Except, that is, for bigamy, it had flourished with the end of the war.(81) And there were fairly new offences - photo-conmen and bogus war charity collectors.(82) But most alarming and one that the public did not appreciate, was the fact that society was awash with guns.(83) Police feared that these weapons would end up in Sinn Feiner hands and the fear was justified when a notorious Sinn Feiner from Valleyfield in Fife stole four revolvers from the Barracks.(84) They were certainly active in Perth and several of them ended up in Perth Penitentiary.(85) The police judgment on crime was ominous: "Prison is no longer a deterrent against evil doing."(86) This seemed obvious with a return to an increase in vagrancy, many of whom were deserters living of thieving.(87) Their monthly average in Perth increased dramatically; 1919 - 60; 1920 - 64; 1921 - 76 and 1922 - 83.(88) Many of the police welcomed the return to whipping juvenile offenders and were dismayed by their inability to control the noisy crowds of dancers who rolled home at 2-3am.(89) Another disappointment had been the failure of the poll in December, 1920 under the Temperance(Scot)Act 1913 and No. 21 Temerance(Scot)Act Regulations 1920 in six Perth wards.(90) Only 67% of voters had taken the trouble to participate and of these the majority saw no reason for any change. In October, 1921 the UF churches in Perth renewed their campaign against the drink trade, but were outmanoeuvred by the Licensed Trade Defence Association and the result was opening times, 11.30am to 2.30pm and 4.30pm to 9.30pm.(91) The fact that drink interests were too strong was proved by the April, 1924 re-run in court which had the same result. In fact, Perth was still viewed as "DRUNKEN PERTH" in 1923 when it was estim-

estimated that some £250,000pa was spent on drink!(92) However, some claimed that Saturday night "wife-bashing" had declined.(93) Human sexuality did not appear to have changed and although there were more divorces there was just as much prostitution as before. In the light of the above the police felt they were justified in asking for substantial rises and these they certainly got. In November, 1918 a Perth PC was on a scale of 27/5d to 36/9d and a Sgt. from 37/11d to 43/9d.(94) Within a year these scales were 70/- to 95/- and 100/- to 112/6d, clearly inspired by the Police Strike of 1919 and its horrendous results. The police was now a good career choice as the perks - boot and rent allowance, as well as overtime rates, had all increasedcin proportion.(95) Senior officers' salaries had risen subst ntially at the same time.(96) Women police constables "of considerable value in certain spheres" were under consideration and electric lamps had now replaced the old oil lamps.(97)

There was one area which presented the Town Council with an air of urgency - housing. They knew that the city required at least 200 new houses immediately and in March, 1919 they set up meetings with factors and architects "to determine what kind of houses are needed."(98) They were certainly under pressure. A deputation of the city's leading citizens and clerics - Smythe, Shillinglaw and Landreth - declared that the lack of new housing was "an emergency" and that far more than 200 were needed.(99) The Town Council listed all those houses considered "unlet and condemned" and decided that 400 were required and they planned sites in Scone and Dunkeld Road and Darnhall Drive.(100) But before they could negotiate further a housing demonstration in the City Hall demanding 300 houses at once, forced their hand.(101) Not long after work started at these sites the Town Planning(Scot)Act 1919 became law. Clearly "an emergency measure" it compelled local authorities to provide housing to a standard design and guaranteed subsidies.(102) It also made them "conduct a speedy survey of housing needs and report proposals to the Health Ministry - - there being a state subsidy for all the costs of council-house building that can't be met by a 1d in £ rate increases."(103) Other legislation soon followed - Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest(War Restrictions)Act 1919, which continued controls and restricted rent increases to a maximum of 10% and Housing(Additional Powers)Act 1919, which offered subsidies for houses built by private enterprise. By 1920 therefore, housing was a very important topic for the Town Council. There was plenty of previous legislation - Housing and Town Planning Acts 1890-1908 and Letting and Rating Act 1913.(104) They did little to solve some problems: some houses were "unfit" in Thimblerow, but what was to be done with the tenants? Then there was the

the matter of building costs - 1,000 bricks had risen in price from 36/- to 81/6d and 1,000 slates from £11.13/- to £27.10/-.(105) Some houses were positively dangerous - Clayholes, 158 High Street and 48 George Street, while upgrading the sewers would be really expensive.(106) Conferences were held and data exchanged. Finally, in April, 1920 some 28 different areas were identified which even lacked water-closets.(107) In ten areas alone there were 41 sub-standard houses: 10 in West Mill Street; 7 Meal Vennel; 4 Leonard Street; 3 South Street; 3 Murray Street; 2 Pomarium; 2 Bridge Lane; 2 Cutlog Vennel and 1 Horner's Lane. But - what rent would be charged for new houses, how would new houses be allocated? would the Scottish Veterans' Association get priority? how would tinkers be housed? (108) Some answers emerged - the Town Council would borrow £60,000 and build 16 new houses in Darnhall Drive and 40 in Dunkeld Road; rents would be £24pa for three apartments and £28pa for four; tinkers would be housed (temporarily)in army huts.(109) Instantly, eight landlords appealed: Mrs. Pilkington, who owned seven houses in Keir Street, claimed she had "no money owing to the Rent Restriction Act and thus no return on her property for six years"; Mrs. Murray, who owned the three in Murray Street, said she had had no rent increase in 30 years"; Mrs. Low, who owned four in Leonard Street, said she had "no funds."(110) The Town Council responded by placing closing orders on some of them and selected another 13 for immediate conversion - 4 Whitefriars, 3 Commercial Street, 2 High Street, 1 Pomarium, 1 Craigie Place, 1 South William Street and 1 St. Catherine's Road - 13 in all.(111) But by 1920 it was the end of "enhanced purchasing power."(112) By 1922 the Geddes Axe stopped new house-building. The Town Council had tried hard to live up to modern ideas of designed towns, rationalized land use and restricted urban sprawl, but high costs defeated them.(113)

Another area in which costs were rising was health. Electric treatment, X-rays, massage and the appointment of bacteriologists and radiologists meant that health could only improve with money spent.(114) Fortunately, the establishment of the Ministry of Health and the Scottish Board of Health in 1919 was "a revolution in public administration."(115) Much legislation flowed from these changes - Nurses Registration(Scot)Act, Blind Persons Act and the Ministry's decision to pasteurise milk in 1922. (116) Much more thought was now given to current problems and statistical analysis and while illegitimacy and its causes were still a mystery, at least there was agreement that "war conditions had had no serious effect on health."(117) Alcoholism was increasing, even though malnutrition was dwindling.(118) TB was now the challenge that smallpox and typus had presented in the past.(119) Perth soon had a TB officer and his TB scheme was

was soon in operation - using army huts until a 100-bed sanatorium was prepared with constant updating of research.(120) Two problems presented themselves - discharged TB soldiers and TB emigrants to the colonies.(121) Much was done to assist both groups. Concern for VD had continued after the war and the appointment of a VD officer and the preparation of a VD scheme with six beds was only the first step in an attack on the illness.(122) Fortunately, local authorities were obliged to give free diagnosis and treatment and by 1924 PRI was treating 71 patients.(123) Disease, of course, comes in waves - typhoid in 1919 and smallpox in 1920, with their accompanying rush for vaccines.(124) Health weeks, cleaning stations for verminous children were all important aids.(125) The happiest and most successful area of health concerned infants. Between 1916-1922 infant mortality in the UK fell by 30% in large measure due to the Maternity Services and Child Welfare Scheme which required home visits.(126) In March, 1919 no fewer than 113 mothers visited the Perth Child Clinic and these increased to 136 by May, 1919 to the astonishing figure of 318 in April, 1920.(127) Much of the credit being due to the appointment, in June, 1919, of a child welfare officer and another health visitor combined with a greater concern for infant nutrition.(128)

There was one sector in which the Town Council felt completely out of their depth and that was the new trend in unemployment. Heretofore, the unemployed had generally been the shiftless or unskilled with the occasional, short, irregular lay-offs for the skilled, but now it was the latter who were unemployed long-term.(129) The difficulty began in April, 1920 when the Ministry of Labour wanted to find out the numbers of unemployed ex-soldiers in Perth and the county.(130) To their horror the Town Council found 119 traditionally unskilled looking for work, but also 572 ex-soldiers, 54 of whom were disabled.(131) They speedily urged the employment of the disabled and applied to the National Relief Fund for £500.(132) Still the numbers grew and the Town Council tried desperately hard to understand the situation and devise a solution.(133) They opened their own Unemployed Relief Fund for 651, allowed those with nowhere to go to use the City Hall, hired others to clear the snow off the streets, encouraged the 36 "Dundee Unemployed Marchers to London", tried to help a Co-op St. Cuthbert style laundry for bag-wash organised by out-of-work Perth dyers and did what they could to combat the "demoralising effect of unemployment."(134) Even the State seemed ineffectual despite the Unemployment Insurance Act 1920 and the introduction of "The Dole" - "uncovenanted benefits."(135) In January, 1922 the Unemployment Grants Committee, which paid 60% of the money to the

the unemployed, reported to the Town Council that its money was exhausted. (136) Although the average out-of-work man only received 15/- plus 5/- for his wife and a 1/- per child, Dole costs soared as unemployment never fell below 9% and the National Unemployed Workers' Movement was founded. (137) While some described the crisis as "purely regional" the numbers grew and by April, 1922, in Perth, it was estimated that there were 824 long-term and 709 short-term unemployed, a total of 1,533.(138) Things improved over the summer of 1922 - 790 in April, 775 in May, 663 in June and 564 in July - but worsened in December, 1922 - 816.(139) Little did they know that much worse lay ahead.

One pre-war mystery had been resolved at least and that was poverty. Now it was generally agreed that it was a wage problem.(140) And that was the reason how "the war had reduced pauperism to a very low ebb." Consequently, "the undeserving poor belief" began to dissolve and there was a greater degree of sensitivity by the authorities. For example, the term "Poorhouse" was removed from birth certificates and Perth Poorhouse was remaned Bertha Home in 1922.(141) The more perceptive in society realised that it was not State intervention which had improved the position of so many, but simply higher earnings.(142) Unemployment tended to reverse this in 1920.(143) Unfortunately, the end of price controls also inflicted damage as prices rose all over the UK.(144) Eggs were often 9d each, bread rose from 9½d to 1/1d in 1920 and 1/2½d in 1921, while gas increased by 10d/1,000 cu. ft. due to the Coal Strike.(145) Poverty returned with a vengeance and in December, 1922 some 459 applied for admission to the Poorhouse.(146) Indeed, in 1920 it was reckoned that prices were triple those of 1914 and the situation was worse than in 1918.(147) Many felt that one of the causes was the fact that wages were too high and differentials too low - a mason had 97/2d while his labourer had 84/-, a rail porter had 72/11d and a painter 96/3d in 1920.(148) The end of the Profiteering Act 1919 in May 1921 and rationing in November, 1922 helped to ease matters.(149) The price of wheat steadily fell thereafter: 80/10d qtr. in 1920; 71/6d in 1921; 47/10d in 1922.(150)

Few city employees in the Transport Department would have believed a word of the above. They pushed hard for continuous rises till, by 1920, a driver had 70/- a week.(151) Then their trade union, the National Transport Workers' Federation submitted a claim for 44/- over pre-war rates and threatened, if rejected, to strike on 3 April, 1920.(152) The Town Council described the demand as "excessive" and the Constitutional as "COLOSSAL!"(153) The union, realizaing it had over-reached itself, backed down, but two months later was back with a general wage demand.(154) The

The Town Council gave them 5/- and put up bus fares. Unbelievably, they returned four months later asking for another 12/-, but this was spurned. (155) The Town Council had to be careful in handling transport problems as it was central to their revenue. There were plenty of problems - female workers pushing for equal pay, ex-soldiers with poor health, being sued by private bus companies, tram and bus accidents.(156) They also had costly responsibilities - extend bus services and get more trams.(157) By 1920 it was obvious that more capital should go to buses and they bought a Commer and a Strakers Squire, but had to economise by dyeing discarded army uniforms for their staff.(158) They also cut back in wages - 3/- in February, 1921 and 4/- in November, 1922.(159)

But it was with the other municipal employees that the Town Council found out the headaches that went with union negotiations. In February, 1920 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers demanded that their bonus be merged with their wage to give them an extra 3/4½d, while the Association of Blacksmiths and Ironworkers' Society got their members a wage rise from 83/4½d to 86/9d in six months.(160) Then the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters objected to their members being used for rough work outside as the National Union of Clerks demanded a new scale of 70/- at the age of 21.(161) The National Association of Technical Gas Officials complained about their members' low salaries and suggested £847pa for an engineer, just as the Scottish Association of Paviors' Federation got their members an extra 3d an hour.(162) In November, 1920 the United Operative Associates of Scotland deplored the use of unskilled labour to do their members' work.(163) The most powerful was the National Union of General Workers, which, in February, 1919, argued for 30/- over pre-war rates and a 44 hour week.(164) After a long, protracted struggle they had their 30/- and a 47 hour week.(165) Their general aim was an overall 60/- weekly and this they achieved for cleansing and lighting by July, 1920.(166) They even managed a spectacular 7/- for electricity workers and a new scale for technical staff.(167) These forced the Councillors to face a never-ending wave of pressure: deputations threatening to strike, demands for war bonuses, claims for huge rises, applications for double time, arguments for a minimum wage and shorter hours, higher shift rates and holidays with pay.(168) The Town Council did the best they could - they refused to replace men who retired, they cut back on staff numbers, others they sacked, some rises they rejected and others they ignored.(169) The problem must have seemed never-ending - disabled men asking for lighter work, changing schedules to absorb men who had been promised their jobs back, buying a new 5-ton Commer lorry for the gas works at £1,170 and a new tipping vehicle for cleansing, re-

rejecting legal claims for compensation.(170) Their strongest weapon, after June, 1921, was the wage-cut: in June, 1921 gas workers lost 1/- a shift, then 12½% in October, then ½d an hour in April, 1922 and another ½d in May; scavengers lost 4/- in January, 1922 and 1/- for every five points drop in the cost of living index; slaughtermen and harbourmen lost 1/-, while public health and lighting men lost 5%.(171) There were still anomalies - the lavatory attendant who only had a 3/- rise in 1920 or the gas clerkesses who only had 40/- weekly, while their male colleagues had 65/-.(172) Only the professional staff had reasonable salaries - the burgh surveyor £350pa and the architect £450.(173)

The private sector was even more restless and strikes were almost fashionable. In 1918 alone some 5,875,000 days were lost and the 1919 industrial courts did little to improve matters.(174) There were plenty of them in Perth - moulders wanted a 40 hour week, while the Textile Workers' Union at Garvie and Deas argued for a rise.(175) The September-October, 1919 Rail Strike was much more damaging to the city in that over 1,000 NUR men lived in Perth, but most people took the advice of the Government to "Carry On!"(176) In 1920 the bakers asked for a rise of £5 a week, while clerks in banks and the GA had more modest ambitions.(177) At the end of the year 200 builders struck and in May. 1922 postmen demanded better conditions.(178) But, like the rail upsets it was the Coal Strikes of October, 1920 and April, 1921 that really hurt.(179) No wonder CYRNICUS could write in the Perthshire Advertiser - "Let them all strike! The public is sick of the agitators' talk and bombast!"(180) It was more than that at Messrs. Frank S. Sandeman's at Stanley Mills in March, 1919.(181) There, a girl refused to join the Textile Workers' Union, who were vigorously pursuing a policy of closed-shop. She worked in the Mechanics' Department and the Textile Union was no use to her, and anyway, none of the mechanics were in any union. 500 women came out on strike and attacked the girl after work. Police and mechanics escorted her through a baying mob blowing trumpets, rattling tins and booing. The Constitutional said it all: "POLICE DRAW BATONS AT STANLEY." The girl joined another union and the mechanics came out in protest. Two months later seven workers were fined in Perth Sheriff Court for "intimidation."(182) Just as these proceedings were underway the Scottish Trades Union Congress met in Perth and Rushworth of the Dyers' Union publicly distanced himself from "Red Clyde."(183) That summer railwaymen had a cut of 5/- and bakers, although threatened with a 17/- cut, ended up with a 10/- cut and an hour added to their working week.(184) In August, 1920 the bleachers at Messrs. Lumsden and Mackenzie at Huntingtower, Pitcairngreen and Stormontfield and those at

at Messrs. James Burt-Marshall at Luncarty demanded a closed-shop, and when refused, struck.(185) In Bankfoot village two of them were arrested for Breach of the Peace and bailed at £3. By 4 August "Almondbank and Luncarty were lively" as 700 formed pickets at the two firms.(186) At the latter 237 workers enrolled in the Dyers' Union and demanded 70/- for men and 50/- for women.(187) Negotiations with the union convinced Major Hodge of Burt-Marshall to recognise the union, but this was rejected by the Dyers' Union who wanted to tie the closed-shop argument to a wage rise.(188) A week later the union demand went up by 8/- although the firm offered 4/-.(189) By now "Luncarty was a hot-bed!" and in a Luncarty to Perth march there were another 17 arrests.(190) The Dyers' Union suggested a rent-strike and the firm responded by sending each striker a warning that they might have to quit their tied-house unless there was a speedy settlement.(191) That night there were meetings on the North Inch and at the High Street Port as rumour spread that the firm was hiring new men. Then followed a seven hour meeting between Hodge and Dougherty of the Dyers' Union.(192) The Constitutional on 25 August claimed that a settlement was certain because of pressure from the Masters' Bleachers' Association and hinted that men would get 4/- and women 2/- backdated to 1 August. Details now emerged of what had gone on behind the scenes - 20 police had been used after the two firms had asked for protection, there had been 20 arrests and the Dyers' Union had dropped their demand for a closed shop.(193) Then came the legal assessment before Sheriff Boswell on 13 September - 5 Ruthvenfield and 3 Pitcairngreen workers, one of the former being a James Turner, DCM., MM., Cross of St. George of Russia.(194) They were all found guilty and fined. There were other casualties, "although it was a good-humoured strike!"(195) "A few were not reinstated" and the Luncarty general manager retired.

The post-war period began rather ominously for Scotland in the economic field as control of so many industries was now in English hands.(196) While capital growth was slow in Perth by March, 1920 the Government allowed the Exchange Rate to fluctuate and they were forced into a new War Loan and a Finance Act which raised income tax.(197) It was in the year 1921-1922 that the post-war slump began.(198) Exports and production levels fell till cotton was only 1/3 of the 1913 level, coal was down 40m tons and 2m were idle. The old staple industries had started to contract in the face of a sluggish international economy and fiercer competition. This was obvious to Perth dyers as within months of the end of the war, German dyes had again captured the market.(199) Meanwhile, Frank E. Eastman of Eastman and Sons, Dyers and Cleaners, London had rearranged working ideas at

at the North British Dye Works - work now started at 8am rather than 6am, there was a Works Council and a new stress on modern advertising.(200) There was even an innovative 3-day Conference for Managers from London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Bristol and Birmingham at which it was agreed to expand agencies, purchase more vans, improve rail transit and advertise.(201) Suddenly, the workers, afraid of losing their war bonuses, struck and won their claim for 5/- for men and 4/- for women, provided that they made no wage demands for a year and promised to accept pre-war rates if the cost of living fell.(202) Eastman tried hard to conciliate the union - he took on the unemployed Campbell workers, rejected overtime and opened the Tulloch Institute to women employees.(203) As the Perthshire Advertiser saw it on 24 May, 1919 - "ALL WORKERS' DEMANDS MET!" A dyer now had 57/-, a skilled man 51/-, an unskilled 47/- and a woman 40/-. Yet, within three months the union was back asking for 5/6d on pre-war rates and 25% on the present rate as the cost of living was rising again.(204) The September, 1919 Rail Strike worsened the situation and the firm, in October, conceded a further 4/- to men and 2/- to women "for the increased cost of living."(205)

By 1920 some 2,000 employees were in the Dyers' Union, a far cry from the 67 of 1917.(206) On 6 March the Works closed at noon and a War Memorial tablet bearing the names of the 61 dead(39BW)was unveiled by Mrs. Eastman in the presence of the Duke of Atholl and Sir Robert Moncrieffe, but no Pullars.(207) In an emotional delivery F. Eastman told how "they went out for honour because Britain had given its word to Belgium - - they realized that their choice was either slavery or death - - they were fighting for acivilization." He recalled the 470 who had gone to war, the 14 decorations they had won and the 12.9% who fell. The piper played "The Flowers of the Forest" and the wreaths were carried by Sgt. Anderson MM., and CSM Mitchell DCM. At this point Eastman disclosed details of the firm's new Pension, Sickness and Holiday Scheme: a pension based on 2½d x £ in wages x number of years if unable to work; sickness pay of 8/- to men and 6/- to women for eight weeks and then another eight weeks at half-scale; holidays with pay of a week if with the firm four years.(208) As the editor of the Constitutional said, "It is a most generous proposal as the Company provides all the funds."(209) Its doubtful if Eastman fully appreciated the future cost given an aging work-force or the loss in profits due to the October, 1920 Coal Strike.(210) At any rate a fall in the cost of living in December saw wages reduced. The union did not like it and complained to Sir D. Shakelton, Arbiter, and when he found for the workers

workers the money was restored.(211)

1921 seemed to promise a good year. Although short of some materials, all the men were back from the war and the Works Council was "a distinct success."(212) But merging with Campbells meant that the North British Dye Works was now legally responsible for the 26,000 claims, totalling £105,000, for damages which were due to go to court. Even before this could be assimilated, came disaster, another Coal Strike in April.(213) By the 18 April National Defence Force troops were in Perth, some 200 at the Old Infirmary, and others, with fixed bayonets, at the railway station. (214) Some 1,500 workers had to be laid off and by the end of the month there was only a week's supply of coal left in stock.(215) On 2 May, 1921 the Constitutional headline read - "COAL CRISIS IN PERTH!" amid warnings that 2,900 would be idle if the Works had to close down.(216) The Dyers' Union appealed to the miners and the railwaymen and a special permit gave them enough coal for a three-day week. Well might the Constitutional report on 11 May, "The outlook is not so bright!" Then, just as the Works was on the point of closing at the end of the month, 400 tons of French coal arrived with the promise of American shipments soon after.(217)

Unbelievably, the firm staggered into another crisis a few months later. On 3 December, 1921 the Perthshire Advertiser informed the people of Perth that there was "A CRISIS IN THE DYEING INDUSTRY!" because of an Employers' Association - Dyers' Union agreement in Manchester to give full pay for a 40 hour week, with a sliding-scale down to 33 hours. Eastman refused to accept this and came up with the suggestion that the workers lose pay for the first seven hours' work and that he retain the right to dismiss. Hence "THE DEPRESSION IN THE DYEING TRADE!" Trade was "dull" in early December and the firm paid off 200.(218) The argument was basic: Eastman wanted the workers to lose pay on seven hours' work till January, 1922; the union refused to agree to this and wanted a guaranteed 33 hours, which the firm, in its turn, refused. A week later another 50 were paid off and the Perthshire Advertiser reported on 10 December - "250 DYEWORKERS UNEMPLOYED!" The union was forced to yield and accept the firm's New Agreement that all new employees serve a four-year probationary period during which time they only get 75% wages, thereafter the "set wage", which carries with it the promise to work 32 hours every six months without pay. By now most of the workers felt that they had lost all the post-war gains at a stroke and Rushworth, on behalf of the union, could only weakly suggest that he have a say in dismissals. He publicly asked how much money the firm was saving and how many workers had been paid off. He accused Eastman "of talking about dismissing workers and violating agreements." Eastman's

Eastman's reply was short: "An employer must retain the right to lay off during an acute depression and we cannot give guarantees!" It was clear to most of Perth that "PULLARS IS IN GREAT DEPRESSION" and the 100 clerical members of the Scottish Clerks' Union wisely accepted the seven hour pay cut.(219) The Dyers' Union came back with more sensible proposals: in return for a 40 hour week and no dismissals each man would accept a cut of 8/- to 12/- for three months.(220) The firm did its best too. In February, 1922 it cut its dry-cleaning charges and in August its dyeing charges, thereby upsetting its cash flow. In fact, the matter was not fully settled till August, 1923. Ominously, soup kitchens were in action again in Perth.(221)

P. and P. Campbell had faced similar problems in 1918 - the working-week was cut to 47 hours, ex-soldiers were rehired and rises were granted all round.(222) Although they had plenty of dyes, no plant had been upgraded in the last five years. They were to pay a terrible price for the war-years on 20 May, 1919 when the Perth Dye Works was destroyed in "PERTH'S MOST DESTRUCTIVE FIRE, AN UNPARALLELED CONFLAGRATION!"(223) 370 workers were idle(but soon to be employed by Pullars) and £250,000 damage was done.(224) The blaze had actually threatened the city and the Wallace and Balhousie Works, together with the Barracks and the Moncrieff Glass Works had been abandoned. Fortunately, there was a speedy solution - "THE BIG TRADE EVENT!" - the two firms amalgamated.(225) PW and E. Campbell retired and Lt. Peter Campbell Jnr., joined Pullars as a director.(226) Despite his problems Eastman launched a building campaign in September, 1919 and the first purely cement-reinforced building in Perth emerged with electric lifts and a 78,000 gallon concrete water-tank on the roof.(227) It was fireproof.

Perth's other major industries also had their post-war troubles. Thomson's Fair City Dyeworks suffered a pay strike in May, 1919 to be followed by the Rail Strike in September, which hit them "badly."(228) Cleverly, they set about storing coal for the next strike, which came in October, 1920, but they had already decided to move from dyeing "the colours not being so bright as pre-war" to cleaning, especially laundry, which proved profitable.(229) With the third Coal Strike, in April, 1921 their dyeing ceased altogether.(230) This was a wise move as dyes were up 20 times on the 1913 prices and bag-wash had an enormous advantage for the future, "it has no busy season."(231) Garvie and Deas had a constant struggle in July, 1919 with the Textile Workers' Union, while Moncrieff Glass Works repeatedly had to lay off its 500 workers as lack of coal damaged its ovens.(232) The

The Foundry, which installed electricity in February, 1920, found itself heavily in debt. Shields' Wallace Works entered 1919 with a massive profit of £18,729 and gave a retrospective pay rise of 7/- to men, 5/- to women and 2/6d to girls, back to December, 1919.(233) Then after a damaging Coal Strike came the rise in the cost of living and the workers demanded a 10/- rise, which they felt the firm could well afford as the 1920 profit level was £19,863.(234) Actually short of female labour the firm had no option but to grant the rise, taking care to point out that that made increases of 125% over the pre-war wage level or, in other words, a merging of bonus and war wages.(235) By 1921 the firm felt itself to be "IN CRISIS" as the linen trade disintegrated all over the country.(236) The April, 1921 Coal Strike saw a 3-day week and 1922 was "a year of considerable anxiety."(237) Coates' Balhousie Works was in a parallel position. It began 1919 by a return to a 50 hour week and because jute and wool were in short supply soon found themselves with 300 on short time.(238) From then on it was nothing but disaster - September, 1919 Coal Strike; October, 1919 Rail Strike; April, 1921 Coal Strike; September, 1921 12½% pay-cut; January, 1922 collapse of the carpet market and jute depressed.(239)

The State too in the Reconstruction Era 1918-1922 also had to unwind. Although the transition from war to peace was not entirely smooth many were glad to see the powers of the State emasculated.(240) They remembered only too well the ruthless ferocity with which it had fought to survive. In 1919 the Ministries of Reconstruction, Information, Blockade, Munitions, National Service, Food and Shipping were dismantled. The War Cabinet was soon dissolved and the coal mines and railways returned to their owners. The Addison Scheme was brought to an end and the Corn Production Act 1917, which guaranteed prices and a minimum wage, was repealed and by 1920 "much of the wartime governmental machinery had been dismantled."(241) But enough was retained - Ministries of Health, Labour, Transport, DORA - lying dormant as it were - to be reactivated if required in the future. Everybody knew the significance of the General Election of 1918 with an enormously swollen electorate and campaigning began early, 14 November, 1918. Four weeks later the nation went to the polls on 14 December. Despite its anomalies - the limited age-level for women and the lack of male residential qualifications - the Representation of the People Act 1918 was an enormous political change.(242) In Perth, W. Young, Coalition, was returned unopposed, one of the 537 successful candidates for the Coalition-Liberals.(243) It certainly released a wave of political debate in the city - first on the advantages, if any, of proportional representation and then of the Soviet system.(244) In the latter, a public meeting in the

the City Hall, 1,016(63.5%)voted against the Soviet system and only 590 in favour. But there were already signs that the political spectrum was polarising as the Right and Left became more extreme - in 1920 with the formation of the National Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain.(245) Already police suspicions were stirred by the latter.(246) This was reflected in the Town Council who were less than helpful to the ILP8s attempts to organise meetings on the North Inch and who deplored the ILP's "fraternal greetings to comrades in the USSR."(247) In contrast was the Town Council's attitude to the Labour Party, backed by the powerful Trades Labour Council - their applications for use of the North Inch were usually upheld.(248) Generally, the feeling in the city was that the Liberals were running out of steam - there were no Pullar members in the Liberal Club - and that the Unionists were the coming men.(249) Sadly, extremism was lurking in the air and many expected a future clash between Capital and Labour.(250)

Newspapers were among the first to anaylse the war and ask if there were any lessons to be learnt.(251) And they did the same in regard to the details of the Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. But their mass-readership now numbered 5,500,000 and their interests were changing.(252) Basically, it was a desire for escapism, especially through magazines and films.(253) Holidays were an obvious example and the campaign "Perth for Holidays!" was financed by the City of Perth Advertising Fund.(254) Formats had changed, photos were regular features even in adverts.(255) Violent acts were handled almost dramatically, like the Amritsar Massacre and the deaths of 379 people in India in April, 1919. On the other hand, Breach of Promise cases are rare after 1921. Visits by VIP's were much applauded - Lloyd George, Admiral Beatty, Ramsay Macdonald, Crown Prince Hirohito - but more space was devoted to local war heroes like Captain Robert Halley, DFC and Bar, MM., who went on to fight the Afghans in 1919.(256) Naturally, old topics remained - was drinking water from the Tay safe?(257) In fact, Perth's sewage problem was no nearer solution than a decade before. Newspapers handled the topic of women rather differently as well in the post-war period. Dr. Elsie Inglis, who died in 1917, and Edith Cavell, who died in 1915, were cast as role-models. The Sex Disqualification(Removal)Act 1919 lifted the barriers and women achieved many firsts in this period - the first JP, Mrs. Summers; first to the Bar, Ivy Williams; first Cabinet Minister, Margaret Bondfield - and by 1921 the 1911 level of professional women had doubled.(258) Oddly enough, women lost out in almost every area into which they had ented so enthusiastically

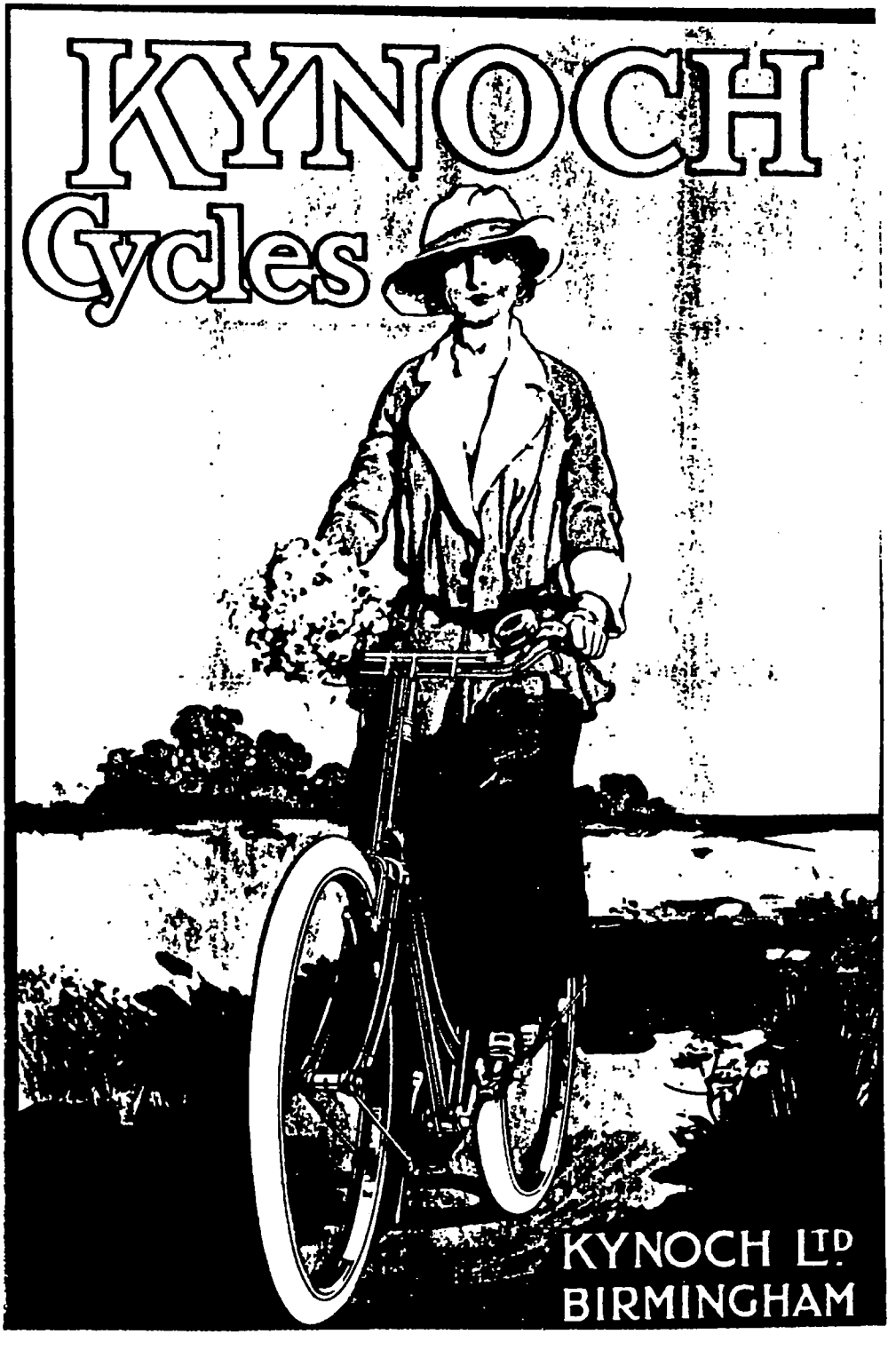
47 Kynoch Cycles advertisement, *c.* 1923–5
Anon. lithograph

Note This poster illustrates the less fashionable and more practical form of dress worn by many ordinary women in the early 1920s. It also reflects a new freedom for women after 1914 in both their clothes and their activities. This woman appears to be cycling confidently and alone about the countryside.

Head She wears the deep-crowned, brimmed hat, similar to the masculine Panama which had appeared during the First World War period.

Body Her long, loose, belted jacket (over a blouse) and full, rather long skirt had also been fashionable for informal wear a decade earlier but continued to be worn in the early 1920s.

Accessories She wears buckled shoes (see also no. 26).



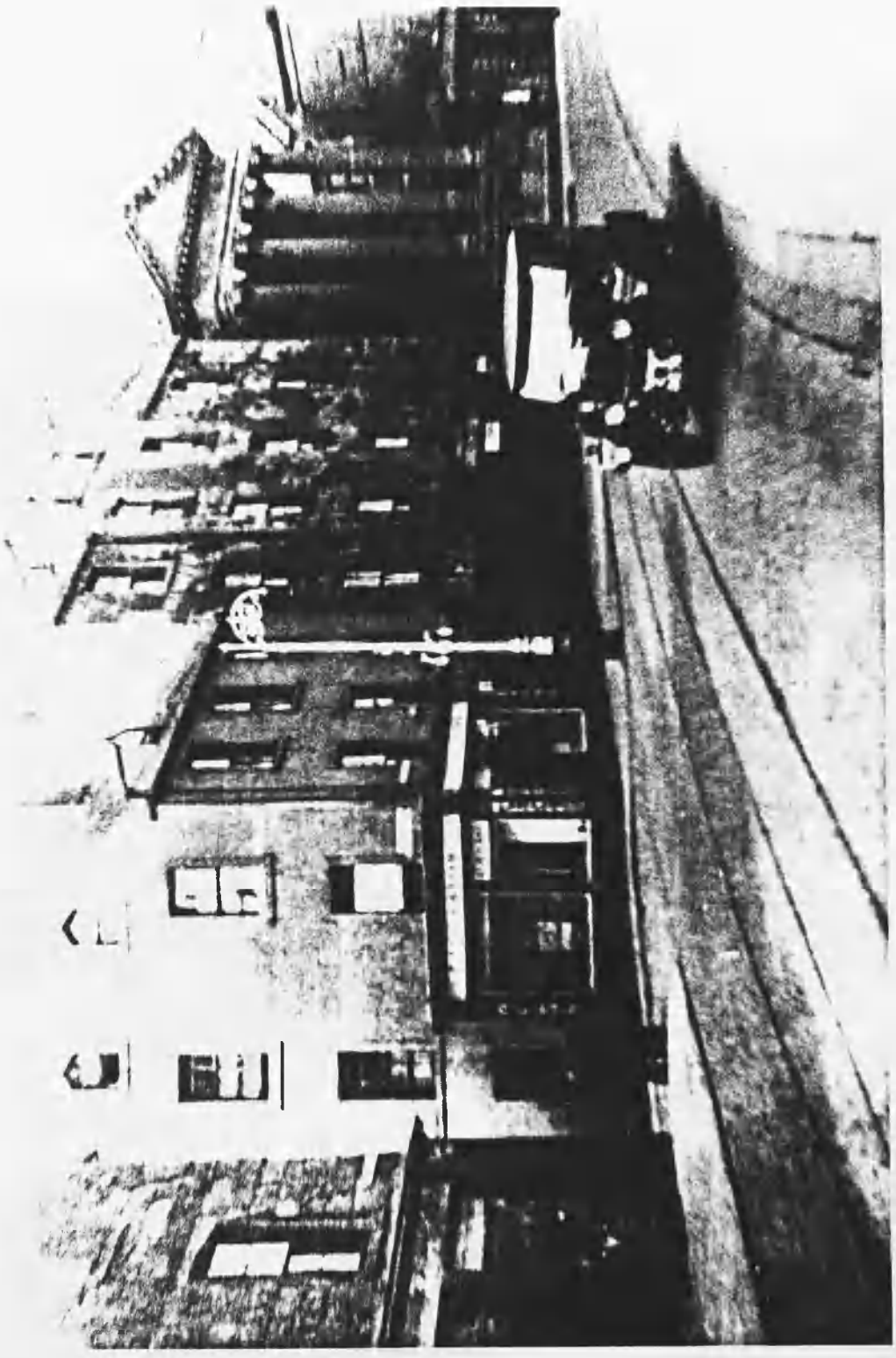
enthusiastically during the war.(259)

As if to emphasise their partnership with men, women's fashions turned to the "boyish look" achieved by a Bob, Shingle or Eton Crop hair-style under a cloche hat. With a straight silhouette to hide bust and hips, there was no stiff corset nor starched petticoat and the skirt was well above the knee.(260) The more outlandish were the "Amazons", who smoked in public, drank beer and had bi-sexual names like Jo and Billie. All, of course, designed to shock. Men were more practical as demob had stimulated a demand for ready-made clothing - tweed jacket, flannel trousers with a sharp crease, bow tie and bright socks.(261) They too, however, had their outlandish group - "The Nut." Always fed up, he was an elegant idler, who smoked heavily and loved cars and was slightly effeminate.(262) Like all extremes in fashion "The Nut" and the "Amazon" did not last.

Most sports, amusements and pastimes of the pre-war period survived, but the hard lines of class-divisions had been blurred and the order of priority was constantly changing. Perth was still essentially a cricket city, although football was fast becoming a serious challenge.(263) Unfortunately, junior football had an image-problem, shown by John Keay as secretary of the Perthshire Junior Football Association, when he appealed for police presence to "curb the unruly conduct of many spectators on saturday afternoons."(264) Tennis received a boost when it was recommended "as ideal for girls" and tennis courts were prepared for the North Inch.(265) As before the war the North Inch was still the week-end social centre for the city particularly with its Sunday Band Concerts, but now there was a refreshment pavilion.(266) Bowling was equally popular and a green was built on the South Inch.(267) The Town Council were still conscious of their need to protect the Inches and although they allowed a skating pond on the South Inch, they refused a whippet-racing arena.(268) It was the same with open-air dancing, it too was refused.(269) While bigger cities had their dance-halls called Palais or Mecca or Locarno, Perth had none of these and dancers had to be content with the use of hired halls. It was this lack of specialised facilities that persuaded the Town Council to allow the swimming baths to be used for gymnastics and the City Hall for badminton and boxing.(270) Many ambitious plans fell through, basically through lack of money.(271) One expanding interest was flying. Many men had served in the RFC/RAF during the war and Scotland had finished up with no fewer than 30 air-bases and having made 2,000 aircraft in its factories.(272) Most schoolboys could describe in detail the structure of a DH9, BE2C, FE2b, Avro540k and the exploits of Canadian air-ace, Colonel Billy Barker, VC., who visited the city in July, 1922.(273) Various at-

attempts were made - by Captain Andrews of Leuchars, Aerial Photos Ltd., Edinburgh and Jones Flying Company - to arrange flights from the North Inch.(274) Motoring too had soared in popularity and despite its negative side - car thefts, accidents, traffic congestions - it was here to stay and the Town Council responded with more road signs, better road classifications, bigger garages, more petrol stations, more one-way streets and better road surfaces.(275) But the greatest change in the post-war period in the field of entertainment was, of course, the cinema. Most people had gone to the cinema during the war and "the picture-going habit" continued. Although the public barely realised it there was constant change. For instance, it was soon obvious that the Cinematograph Act 1920 was obsolete and this led to the 1919 closure of the Corona Picture House in the High Street to become a shop. This left the city with four cinemas until, in 1921, the Theatre was given a licence, making five again. BB Pictures Ltd., had hoped to open a new cinema at the corner of King Edward Street/St. John's Place, but exit problems nipped it in the bud.(276) BB Pictures Ltd., was wound up soon after and a new company, BB Pictures took over.(277) Unfortunately, the BB Cinema suffered a £12,000 fire which served to show the need for the new Celluloid and Cinematograph Act 1922. (278) However, Currie Enterprises Ltd., had leased a site at the corner of Foundry Lane/Kinnoull Street in May, 1921 and within a year the Alhambra Cinema was open.(279) The city now had six cinemas. The number could very well increase.

Physically, the city of Perth had hardly altered by the year 1922 apart from a little development to the north and west. Its population had actually fallen to the 33,000 mark due to the fact that many had gone off to seek work in munitions.(280) As for the city's famous dyeing industry, it was already in decline. While marriages and consequently births were on the increase the outward flow of emigrants to Canada had already started again.(281) This new generation of pioneers was different from the pre-1914 variety. They had lost the passion of patriotism and the mystique of Empire had gone. So indeed had the city's rural quality. Little Dunning Markets were challenged in law by 18 shop-owners under the Sale of Food Order 1920 and the stalls slowly dwindled year-by-year.(282) The noisy cries of young street-traders was also a thing of the past. There was now a by-law which forbade any young person under the age of 17 from selling wares in the streets.(283) There were still heavy cart-horses, but the pony-traps and dog-carts had vanished and the corner horse-troughs were fewer every year. Many of the old, medieval closes, pends and vennels



vennels were closed up or torn down in a city that was changing itself for the motor car. There were far fewer trams and lots more buses and there were even people complaining about the nuisance value of the old tram-lines. Dress had obviously changed a lot and seemed freer and less restricted and was certainly less conventional. Why, women could be seen in long skirts with collar and tie playing tennis in public. Even if Perth had no night-clubs and its citizens never sipped cocktails nor listened to jazz, the cinema had become the great trend-setter. The young fashioned their dress, manners and even life-style on their celluloid heroes and heroines. Even language was changing to the trans-Atlantic monosyllables. Much irritated the older generation, the short skirts, the smoking in public - both deliberately intended to shock and affront. Much seemed to have been lost and they began to look back, with faulty memory, to the halcyon days of pre-1914.

Footnotes

1. Diggle, G.E.(1975) Blighty, London, p.162
2. C 11/11/1918
3. PE1/12/1
4. POL1/2/5(20/12/1918); POL1/5/41(26/12/1918); Poor Law and Local Government Magazine, Glasgow, Vol. XXVIII(1918), pp.387-392
5. TC 18/11/1918
6. Winter, Denis(1978) Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War, London, pp.239-241
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8. Stevenson, John(1984) British Society 1914-1945, London, pp.97-98
9. POL1/14/9(12/2/1919. 10/3/1919, 22/12/1919)
10. C 16/6/1919; Rothstein, Andrew(1980) Soldiers' Strikes of 1919, London, p.63
11. Poor Law(1918) p.188
12. Ibid., pp.115-121; Oakley, Ann(1984) The Captured Womb, Oxford, p.56
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14. CA(1935) A Business Epic 1885-1935, Perth, pp.25-26
15. Harvie Christopher(1981) No Gods and Precious Few Heroes, London, p. 24; Mingay, G.E.(1986) The Transformation of Britain 1830-1939, London, p. 200; Branson, Noreen(1975) Britain in the 1920's, London, p.13
16. TC 22/11/1918; POL1/14/9(28/11/1918); POL1/2/5(30/11/1918)

17. Ibid., (2/12/1918)
18. POL1/5/41(31/12/1918, 5/3/1919, 2/4/1919)
19. TC 12/12/1918
20. Ibid., 23/12/1918
21. Ibid., 22/1/1919, 23/1/1919
22. Ibid., 8/4/1919, 14/5/1919
23. POL1/5/41(8/2/1919, 21/2/1919, 4/3/1919, 8/3/1919, 10/3/1919)
24. POL1/14/10(22/10/1919); TC 14/4/1919
25. PC 11/2/1919; TC 10/2/1919
26. Ibid., 4/3/1919
27. Ibid., 24/3/1919, 7/4/1919
28. Ibid., 8/4/1919, 22/4/1919
29. Ibid., 14/4/1919, 12/5/1919, 5/6/1919; C 25/6/1919
30. PR1/14/2(10/6/1919, 8/7/1919); 81AR(PRI)(1919)
31. C 21/7/1919; PA 28/6/1919
32. Diggle, G.E.(1975) p.101
33. Marwick, Arthur(1964) Clifford Allen, The Open Conspirator, London, p.75
34. TC 15/1/1920, 15/3/1920, 3/5/1920
35. Ibid., 19/1/1920
36. Ibid., 14/6/1920, 16/3/1920
37. Ibid., 16/6/1920
38. PC 23/11/1920
39. TC 4/1/1921, 17/1/1921, 18/7/1921, 5/9/1921, 17/10/1921, 29/5/1921, 3/7/1922
40. PA 19/1/1921; TC 7/3/1921
41. Ibid., 17/5/1921
42. Ibid., 10/3/1919; POL1/14/10(23/10/1919)
43. Ibid., (31/12/1919)
44. TC 12/7/1920, 11/4/1921
45. Ibid., 19/8/1920, 20/9/1920, 6/10/1920, 30/5/1920
46. Ibid., 3/11/1922, 11/12/1922; Scott, Alexander(1922) Chronicles of Lodge Perth Royal Arch No.122, Perth, p.63
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51. Lynch, Michael(1991) Scotland: A New History, London, p.422

52. PC 26/11/1918; C 7/1/1920

53. Ibid., 25/11/1920

54. Lynch, Michael(1991) p.423

55. POL1/14/9(11/2/1919)

56. Winter, J.M.(1985) The Great War and the British People, London, p.273

57. POL1/14/9(15/2/1919); 94AR(1920) Murray's Royal Asylum; 81AR(1919) PRI

58. Ibid., 84AR(1922); POL1/5/48(20/12/1922)

59. Butler, David(1975) p.314; Marwick, Arthur in Henry Cowper et al (1990) World War 1 and its Consequences, Buckingham, p.43

60. Bond, Brian(1980) British Military Policy between the Two World Wars, Oxford, p.8

61. Stevensonm John(1984)

62. Ibid., p.304

63. TC 9/12/1918, 13/1/1919,11/7/1921, 2/9/1921, 31/7/1919, 22/3/1920, 29/7/1920, 10/1/1921, 23/2/1920, 11/3/1920, 12/4/1920, 19/8/1920, 19/8/1920, 20/12/1920, 29/1/1920, 7/6/1920, 23/2/1920, 30/10/1920

64. Ibid., 9/1/1919, 5/5/1919, 20/7/1919, 26/1/1920, 11/7/1921

65. Ibid., 12/2/1919, 2/5/1921, 4/8/1919

66. Ibid., 19/2/1919, 18/9/1919, 20/10/1919

67. Ibid., 31/1/1921, 11/12/1921

68. Ibid., 12/5/1919, 12/6/1919

69. Ibid., 4/4/1921

70. Ibid., 10/11/1919, 11/4/1921

71. Ibid., 1/1/1919, 6/2/1919, 27/2/1919

72. PA 24/5/1919

73. TC 5/6/1919

74. PA 16/7/1919, 17/7/1919

75. C 26/1/1920; TC 4/3/1920, 14/2/1921

76. Ibid., 29/4/1920, 16/3/1921

77. C 18/1/1922, 30/5/1922

78. TC 1/9/1921

79. POL1/5/42(23/7/1919); POL1/5/45(12/2/1921); POL1/14/11(14/4/1920); POL1/14/13(15/9/1922); TC 7/6/1920; POL1/14/12(3/1/1921); TC 7/3/1921, 5/7/1921

80. POL1/14/10(31/7/1919, 31/12/1919); POL1/5/46(7/9/1921); POL1/5/48 (21/9/1922)

81. POL1/5/41(27/3/1919, 9/7/1919); POL1/5/42(8/10/1919, 27/10/1919, 22/11/1919); POL1/5/43(27/12/1919, 26/4/1920); POL1/5/44(10/7/1920, 17/7/1920, 13/8/1920); POL135/45(15/2/1921); POL1/5/48(30/12/1922); POL1/14/10(16/9/1919, 28/11/1919); POL1/14/13(9/9/1922)

82. POL1/5/45(28/12/1920); POL1/14/14(3/10/1922)

83. POL1/5/45(29/12/1920, 28/3/1921, 23/5/1921, 29/6/1921); POL1/5/46 (16/8/1921,19/10/1921, 18/11/1921, 20/12/1921); POL1/5/47(10/8/1922); POL1/5/48(27/10/1922, 30/11/1922, 11/12/1922, 20/12/1922)

84. POL1/14/13(22/7/1922)

85. POL1/14/11(12/10/1920); C 2/12/1921, 12/12/1921, 28/12/1921, 2/1/1922

86. POL1/14/14(26/10/1922)

87. POL1/2/5(14/2/1919)

88. POL1/54/5

89. POL1/37/12; TC 19/2/1920

90. PE1/12/1(23/12/1920)

91. Ibid., (7/10/1921, 18/10/1921)

92. PC 27/3/1923, 16/10/1923

93. Diggle, G.E.(1975) p.93

94. TC 21/11/1918

95. Ibid., 20/10/1919

96. Ibid., 25/2/1920

97. Ibid., 11/8/1919, 10/4/1919, 11/11/1919

98. Ibid., 9/12/1918, 3/3/1919, 10/3/1919, 19/3/1919

99. Ibid., 14/4/1919

100. Ibid., 16/4/1919, 22/4/1919, 23/5/1919

101. Ibid., 19/4/1919

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103. Rodger, Richard(1989) Scottish Housing in the 20th Century, Leicester, pp. 239-240; Thorpe, Andrew(1994) p.59

104. TC 11/2/1920, 12/2/1920

105. C 12/1/1920

106. TC 16/2/1920

107. Ibid., 22/4/1920

108. Ibid., 31/5/1920, 7/6/1920, 24/6/1920, 12/7/1920

109. Ibid., 29/7/1920

110. Ibid., 15/7/1920

111. Ibid., 13/12/1920

112. Winter, J.M.(1985) p.245

113. Stevenson, John(1984) p.234; Winter, J.M.(1985) p.242

114. 82AR(1920) Perth Royal Infirmary; 84AR(1922) PRI
115. Stevenson, John(1984) p.90
116. Ibid., pp.209,211
117. Poor Law(1918) pp.355-363; SB Minutes 1918
118. Murray's Royal Asylum 94AR(1920); 96AR(1922); TC 10/2/1921
119. Stevenson, John(1984) p.210
120. TC 29/6/1919, 31/7/1919, 8/1/1920
121. Ibid., 26/5/1921, 6/10/1921
122. Ibid., 9/12/1918, 29/6/1919, 13/11/1919
123. Stevenson, John(1984) p.211
124. C 6/10/1919; TC 29/4/1920, 11/11/1920, 13/5/1920
125. Ibid., 30/9/1920
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129. Lynch, Michael(1991) p.423
130. TC 14/4/1919
131. Ibid., 11/2/1919, 12/1/1920; PA 4/2/1920
132. PE1/14/2(8/7/1919); TC 15/1/1920, 7/3/1921
133. PE1/14/2(13/12/1920); TC 10/1/1921, 16/3/1921, 26/9/1921, 14/11/1921, 13/1/1922, 10/2/1922, 31/3/1922
134. Ibid., 2/11/1921, 30/1/1922, 23/2/1922; C 4/12/1922, 29/5/1922; TC 27/4/1919
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139. C 21/8/1922, 5/12/1922
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141. PE1/14/2(10/2/1920, 14/2/1922)
142. Turner, John(1988) London, p.91
143. Poor Law(1921) Vol.XXXI, p.262
144. Stevenson, John(1984) p.99
145. Winter, Denis(1978) p.244; C 12/4/1920, 23/2/1921, 1/8/1921
146. PE1/14/3(12/12/1922)
147. Golby, John(1990) p.28
148. Winter, J.M.(1980) pp.232,236
149. Butler, David(1975) p.372

150. Stratton, J.M.(1978) Agricultural Records 220-1977, London, pp.138-139
151. TC 25/3/1920
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154. TC 6/4/1920, 10/6/1920
155. Ibid., 20/10/1920, 25/11/1920
156. Ibid., 5/6/1919, 31/7/1919, 19/5/1921, 19/12/1918, 27/2/1920, 20/5/1920 , 9/3/1922, 22/1/1920
157. Ibid., 27/2/1920, 17/7/1919
158. Ibid., 25/3/1920, 7/10/1920, 25/5/1920
159. Ibid., 2/2/1921, 20/11/1922
160. Ibid., 16/2/1920, 6/4/1920, 29/11/1920
161. Ibid., 27/5/1920, 7/6/1920
162. Ibid., 2/8/1920, 4/10/1920
163. Ibid., 29/11/1920
164. Ibid., 10/2/1919
165. Ibid., 15/1/1920
166. Ibid., 15/7/1920
167. Ibid., 28/7/1920
168. Ibid., 18/11/1918, 21/6/1920, 21/11/1920, 23/1/1919, 10/2/1919, 2/2/1920, 19/8/1920, 10/7/1919, 10/2/1919, 24/3/1919, 5/5/1919, 12/7/1920
169. Ibid., 22/4/1920, 18/10/1920, 16/2/1920, 8/5/1919, 4/12/1920, 11/11/1920, 9/2/1920
170. Ibid., 26/11/1918, 12/12/1918, 13/2/1919, 27/3/1919, 7/6/1920, 4/10/1920, 8/9/1921
171. Ibid., 6/6/1921; C 31/10/1921; TC 27/3/1922, 5/1/1922, 9/1/1922
172. Ibid., 29/1/1920, 18/10/1920
173. Ibid., 28/6/1920, 19/8/1920
174. Stevenson, John(1984) p.87; Butler, David(1975) p.285
175. PC 11/2/1919; C 2/7/1919
176. PA 27/9/1918; C 29/9/1919; PA 7/10/1919
177. C 12/4/1920, 23/6/1920, 22/11/1920
178. Ibid., 20/12/1920; TC 8/5/1922
179. C 18/10/1920, 13/4/1921
180. PA 19/3/1919
181. C 31/3/1919
182. PA 10/5/1919
183. C 28/4/1919; PA 26/4/1919
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185. Ibid., 2/8/1920

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190. Ibid., 21/8/1920
191. C 23/8/1920
192. PA 25/8/1920
193. Ibid., 28/8/1920
194. C 13/9/1920
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Conclusion

How then did World War One effect the city of Perth? Was there social change and if so how much and in what areas of life?

Given that Perth is only a small part of the national spectrum it is clear that the city did not experience "total war", however defined, in the years 1914-1918. There was no destruction of property through enemy action by air-raids or invasion, indeed, there was little in the city by 1922 that indicated that a major conflict had been fought. Apart, that is, from a rusting hulk of a tank at Buckie Braes on which children played on Sunday afternoons and a few field-guns tucked away in odd corners of the city's parks. The military's presence in the city was quickly removed: the practice-trenches dug on the North Inch, the cavalry lines on the South Inch, the halls requisitioned as recreation-clubs and the flats throughout the city reserved for officers and men. The flood of khaki uniforms in the High Street had ebbed away and the Regular Army were where they ought to be, out in India fighting the Afghans. Only a small force of specialist, and rather elderly, instructors was left in the Barracks. The City Hall was no longer required for patriotic concerts or hysterical recruiting rallies and the swimming baths had restored entrance-priority once again to school-children. The river, as ever, flowed on as usual sublimely unaware of man's follies. Only Kinnoull Hill showed signs of abuse. There was not a fully developed birch or ash left on the slopes - all cut down by the Canadian Forestry Corps. But this had happened before, in 1811 in the Napoleonic Wars Kinnoull Hill had been denuded of forest. It had recovered then and the Town Council were determined it would recover again, as it did. The war then for Perth, and one would suspect for most of Scotland, was "a limited war" only. Many people, in fact, were only marginally involved, especially if they had no loved ones at the Front and had enough cash to buy the little extras in what a later generation was to call "the Black Market." Middle-class people could still have their fortnight's holiday in August at Strathpeffer and read their newspapers with patriotic interest as their sole contribution to the nation's fight. Many, no doubt, salvaged their consciences with hefty donations to the host of war charities that sprang up almost nightly in the first few months of the war. Working-class people were the same if they had no husband, son, father or brother in uniform. Most of them had more money during the war than they ever had before and they enjoyed them-

themselves. Clothes may have been dear and food even scarce, but there was always a nice gramophone to buy or a trip by train to Broughty Ferry. Others, in vivid contrast were plunged into deep gloom - the death of a husband at Loos or a son on the Somme, separation for years by service abroad or the breakdown of a marriage. These were sad, but they do not add up to social change of any magnitude.

In fact, World War One was not a period of great hardship for Perth, at least, compared to other stages in the city's recorded past. In the Middle Ages, when the city was protected by a wall and a moat, Perth was the scene of constant pillage by English armies. In the 17th century, in 1644, a savage battle, Tippermuir, was fought on the outskirts of Perth and hundreds of Perth citizens were killed, a far higher proportion of the population than in 1914-1918. Indeed, total war descended on Perth as bubonic plague swept the survivors and competing armies repeatedly took and lost the city. Even a cursory inspection of the Kirk Session and Presbytery Minutes record dozens of rapes and murders as anarchy took hold of the land. In the 18th-19th century the long French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars drained the city of its young men as recruiting parties and press-gangs screened the area for fresh blood, an abduction which could mean an unrecorded death in the Spanish sierras or long years of service before the mast in the South Atlantic. To be wounded, say minus a leg, meant being dumped ashore at Portsmouth and left to find one's way back to Perth and to spend the rest of one's days begging in the streets. To fight in an army that used flogging as a stimulant and had never heard of pensions or allowances was far worse than World War One. The people of Perth in 1796 knew what 18th century conscription meant, hence the Militia Riots against recruitment. The Corn Riots of the same period are largely forgotten, but crowds of local citizens forced their way into warehouses to get food. Clearly, these represent total war and yet none of them were industrial. But they were all fought without restraint and they involved everybody - that is the nub of total war.

If this is so, why then do so many regard 1914-1918 as an enormous gulf in the flow of history? Why do do many see it as a watershed in their personal lives? This is even shared by those whose involvement in World War One was so marginal as to be almost laughable. Everybody and every society needs a benchmark in their life, something by which they can measure change, how ev r fast or slow it may be. And that is what 1914-1918 provides. It becomes a peg on which to hang memories and before long myths evolve. This was proved to me by the elderly oral contributor, who

who said she had had "a good life" on 5/6d a week. Yet, for this, she had to work 51 hours. Her wage was so low that she never had new clothes, just hand-me-downs; could not afford a room of her own, she shared with three other girls; was usually hungry by the middle of the week; her favourite pastimes were the cinema at 2d, the waxworks at 1d and walking. These were "the good old days" to her. The soldiers were no different, even those who had lost an arm at Festubert or an eye at Gaza, their memories of the war, in the main, were of comradeship, shared laughs and comical incidents. The pain, horror and fear had been largely blotted out by their faulty memories. Gone were the thousands of hours of boredom, the hundreds of hours of humiliation and the few hours of sheer terror. Instead, they remembered the night they got drunk at Arras or the strange sight of a broken piece of funereal sculpture at Ypres. These stories repeated again and again in Ex-Servicemen's Clubs and British Legion Nights were the seed-bed for a forest of myths.

One of the, understandably, was the feeling that there was "a lost Generation" of talent and leadership lying in the mud of Flanders. By the 1920's and 1930's this had become almost a scientific fact. In reality, however much grief and sadness we may feel for the countless millions who died, it is simply just not true. It is easy to believe however, as one stands at a Memorial and listens to the tearful, pipe-lament, "The Flowers of the Forest", but the facts are otherwise. The economic problem facing society in the post-war period was not due to the deaths of so many, but to the iron laws of supply-and-demand. The world was changing and with it, new problems and challenges. In terms of numbers, Perth lost c1,000 dead, 10% of those who had served, 2 were blinded for life, 5 were hospitalized for mental illness and 263 were maimed requiring years of convalescent treatment - some 1,260 lives ruined by war. Harsh though it sounds, a fair price for a limited war. It was the same with the population as a whole, the 36,000 of 1910 had fallen to 33,000 by 1922. A sign of total war? On the contrary, Perth had always had a high degree of social mobility by the very nature of her major industry - dyeing. The pre-war custom was for a dyer to leave Perth and work in London, Paris or Berlin to perfect his skills and then return to a promoted post in Perth. Every management-labour confrontation produced "encouraged-to-leave" quittals and a passage to Montreal. Again, large numbers of tradesmen left Perth for Canada 1910-1914. It is a mistake to assume that it was war which stopped this flow in 1914. In fact, it was a wave of unemployment which hit the Canadian Pacific Railway, the main hiring agency for emigrants from Perth,

Perth, early in July, 1914. Further, a fair number of domestics left Perth to go west to Glasgow or south to London as "Munitionettes", where they married and settled down. Lastly, the birth-rate 1910-1922 was never high, but it certainly rose later. Population shift therefore for Perth was hardly new.

Changes in legislation had a much greater effect on Perth. This, far more than war, had the result of destroying Perth's rural quality. The shop-keepers, because they felt that the stalls on the pavements were losing them trade and were unfair, because stall-holders paid no rates - Little Dunning was doomed. Street-trading went the same way. Nothing to do with the war, but the simple fact that the Town Council lost out on rate-payments and the police were concerned by the amount of stolen goods which changed hands at the stalls, a fact confirmed by the number of gypsy-hawkers. The pony and trap as well as the dog-cart were simply outmoded by changes in the city's transpoty arrangements. Trams and even more buses were unsuitable companions for dog-carts, which traditionally delivered the milk in Perth.

The factor which really pushed Perth into the 20th century was not World War One, but the motor car. Horse transport in Perth really ended in 1905 and by 1911 even the tram was scheduled to be replaced by the bus. These changes were gradual and sometimes the different forms existed side-by-side for years. But change came faster after 1908 with Henry Ford's Model T and his 1913 Detroit car assembly line which promised mass-production and hopefully cheaper process. Everybody in Perth knew that, although not everybody believed it. Some, usually the elderly, thought the car a passing fad which would never replace the horse. After all, didn't the Locomotive Act require a vehicle to be preceded by a man with a red flag if crossing a bridge? And wasn't the maximum speed in Perth in 1902 only 2mph? The 1903 Motor Car Act which increased the maximum speed to 20mph was the spur that was needed. Perth, like most cities, responded quickly. Specialised shops appeared selling spare-parts for enthusiastic do-it-yourself fanatics, while local businesses opened garages in the centre of the city to win the increasingly expensive repair-market. As more cars and buses took to the streets the Town Council realised that the medieval streets of Perth were quite inadequate. They had to be made wider, with better surfaces and safer pavements. Town planners devised complicated schemes to divert traffic away from the city and the concept of ring-roads was born. Not only new streets emerged, but signposts and notices and even a new concept, the one-way street. Amidst this mass of change it was clear

clear that traffic police would have to be appointed and by 1913 this had been done. The total effect was incredible. Old and narrow pends, closes and vennels and wynds were closed and the medieval history of Perth began to disappear; dress was influenced as the fashion world seized the idea of producing motoring coats and driving scarfs; newspapers were altered as Motoring Columns and car-sales adverts ousted traditional space reserved for School Board and Presbytery Reports; language too was given a new range of terms - speedster, Road Hog and scorching. Before long, even the technical jargon had joined everyday speech - clutch, gears and windscreen. Law itself was influenced as traffic violations crept steadily up the criminal calendar and new offences appeared - car theft and licence fraud. Its very popularity, especially among the young, obscured the fact that the motor car was reshaping the city and this had nothing to do with the war.

There was another agency destined to alter the city and in many ways it was quite unexpected. Although "animated photographs" were shown in Aberdeen as far back as 1896 few could possibly have believed the scope of its technological development over the following decade. Many regarded the film as little more than a sophisticated version of the 1848 Diorama and little else. As such it was little more than an entertaining toy. But, invention backed by massive capital investment said otherwise. Society did not realise it, but it was about to experience a revolution. It was clearly so in Perth by 1911. Roller rinks and music halls were already closing down in the city and the scramble to build cinemas had begun. The rough-and-ready image, which so many claim was eradicated by the war, disappeared in Perth by 1913 when the city could already sport five picture-houses. Everybody was keen to taste the "visual experience" of the Movies, especially with its rate of rapid change. Why, as early as 1914 Perth enjoyed eclair-coloured films. Like everything else there were fads, but the greatest change was to portray current events and by doing so the Newsreel was born and it was this which attracted the huge crowds during the war years. By 1922 the cinema was the leading trend-setter for the young. It shaped their attitude to language, particularly a fashion for Americanisms, their dress, their manners and their life-style. Their heroes were no longer those of the "Boys' Own" pre-1914 image, but the "Celluloid Screen" star packaged in Hollywood. Cinema-going was now a habit, a form of escapism for a visually-hungry public. In fact, the war had had very little influence upon it.

One thing the war did. It gave thousands of ordinary men and women

women a chance to experience the thrills of flying, less and less a purely aristocratic pursuit. But it didn't make its promised headway in Perth. The Town Council assiduously protected the Inches, as they had always done, and watched with a tolerant eye as sports, pastimes and amusements changed with the times. Working-class and middle-class amusements tended to blur, not because of the war's influence on democratization, but because there was more money around, especially in 1922. Cricket was still king, but football was more exciting. Walking competitions, roller-skating, pierrots, waxworks, glee clubs had all gone; vaudeville and minstrel shows as well as menageries and circuses were fading; dominoes and billiards were gaining respect. Indoors, the gramophone had replaced the piano and outdoors, tennis had overtaken croquet.

The effect of the war on class-structures is almost impossible to assess given the lack of effective data. But several points do seem clear. Scotland had never had the snobbish attitude to class as we find in England and this is just as true of Perth. Whatever class differences there were in 1910 were still there in 1922, except they were less sharply defined. Differences were increasingly more subtle. For instance, while it was comparatively easy to determine class by dress in 1910. it was less easy to do so in 1922. Myths especially abound in this sociological jungle. For example, there are no indications that the landed class around Perth went into decline; the social polarization that some see growing after the war has its roots in the years 1911-1912; social life, which had decayed c1915 had fully recovered by 1919, at least in Perth. The city may have lost its leading family, the Pullars, but the gap had been quickly filled by the Eastmans. The departure of the former had more to do with the challenge of trade union growth rather than the war itself. Perth had no "hardfaced men who did well out of the war", neither did it have a neurotic generation of "gin-swilling Flappers." Anyway, the Turkey Trot and Tango were both known as early as 1912. Even jazz was available, but not popular, in 1911, At the same time, any class homogeneity generated by the war, either in civilian or military life, did not last long. For most people in Perth "respectability", as pre-1914, was inviolate. A great deal of the social change, which commentators, see and record in London, was blissfully unknown in Perth.

Not many realise that council housing stretches back to the 1850's when Town Councils were given limited powers of intervention. These were systematically extended in 1868, 1875, 1890 when slum clearances, redevelopment, rehousing and cheap loans appeared. The concept of a Garden City

City was already well known in 1898 and the idea of a green belt was widely discussed by 1914. In Perth the post-war housing was in response to an emgency and pressure from local deputations. Little had, in fact, been done by 1922. Nonetheless, one can say that it was the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, rather than the war itself, which generated housing changes in Perth. Attempts had been made in Perth to regulate building standards as far back as 1878 and some low-rent housing had been available as early as 1890. Slums were still in existence after 1918, mainly because landlords had no money for improvements and building costs were too high.

Dress is perhaps the most commonly presented evidence as to the effect of war and it would certainly appear so when one considers the pre-1914 woman so grandly corsetted and bedecked with great hats and feathers. In contrast we have the post-war "boyish look" with its almost sexless-outline designed for freer, less restricted, less conventional, more relaxed wear. But when one considers the dress of men pre-war, one realises that strict formality was fading. In Perth lounge suits had become fashionable with the appearance of George V in 1910 and formal attire, in the shape of top hat and morning suit, was reserved only for professional men. It was clear that formality, like spats, was ebbing away. In the post-war period men proved their pragmatic nature by making extensive use of ready-made clothing. Khaki, of course, owed its wide use, not to 1914-1918, as many believe, but due to the Boer War 1899-1901. Much has been written about women's designs and fashions reflecting the need for easy movement in munitions work, driving Red Cross ambulances, but much of this ignores the fact that dress, for women, is a never-ending whirl of change, having remarkably little to do with national events. The two female oral contributors agreed that it was magazine drawings and film excerpts that inspired their dress changes and that alone.

Drink is probably Scotland's oldest social illness. And many forget that the Edwardian pub was often open from 10am to 11pm. The numerous attempts to curb the drinking excesses of the public go far back into the 19th century and continued long after 1918. They were all unsuccessful. Vested interests in the drink trade were always far too strong and even the State could not resolve the issue. The fact is inescapable. There will always be the drinker. This is shown in Perth by the failure of the modest temperance reforms of 1920. In fact, by 1923, despite the great reduction in the number of howffs, the situation was as bas as the early 1900's. Except by 1923 there does seem some evidence that it was correlated with unemployment.

unemployment.

The interesting feature about health is the fact that it did not seem to suffer much during the war. Many argue that this is because of improvements in brain surgery, blood transfusion techniques, all stimulated by the war. In Perth, the data shows, quite clearly, that more money was spent on food and with better nutrition the level of malnutrition fell drastically. The State's awareness of the importance of personal health goes back to 1911 when it realised that bad health and squalor are the product of poverty rather than idleness and immorality. Greater participation on the part of the State was inescapable as medical costs started their long climb upward with electric treatment, X-rays and massage together with salaries for specialists like bacteriologists and radiologists. Thus, the founding of the Scottish Board of Health, although logical and inevitable, is nonetheless a revolution. Health consciousness was not a new factor and neither were health foods, but in the post-war era they received greater prominence. This is true of the efforts made to combat VD. Long aware of the seriousness of this illness it is related to social mobility and during the war had free rein. It was due rather to the movement of masses of virile young men from their sexual partners rather than any specific decline in morality as the Church liked to proclaim. A greater threat to the community was TB, which was not entirely understood in 1922, except that it seemed to be a measure of inadequate housing. Disease as statisticians were beginning to realise comes in waves and when any population's stability is disturbed the risk of disease increases. Naturally, war is such a time. Mental health did improve after the war as more forms of psychosis emerged in breakdowns and post-traumatic stresses. Medical practitioners were made aware of the need for mental hygiene and this seems to have been accompanied by greater sensitivity in handling patients. The one area that has attracted the most attenion is that of child welfare and many have argued that this is entirely due to World War One. This is not so. In Perth, a school nurse, free issues of toothpaste, boots and spectacles all date from 1908 and 1909 the foundation of the local Nursery Association introduced a policy of diets, special classes, a cooking depot, holiday homes, PE and more butter and milk in the food. By 1922 this had been extended to cover cleaning stations, home visits for infants, a child clinic and child welfare officers. Even all these did not remove the bad teeth, head lice and impetigo, but it did reduce their levels.

World War One placed every denomination in Perth in a dilemma. How could God allow this? Where were the concepts of love and forgiveness? The

The Church could not explain the need for suffering and turned to its traditional attitude - Man is selfish, intemperate and impure. Some Perth clericstaught that the Kaiser was, literally, the Anti-Christ, and these with a strange logic called for a Holy War. Many in Perth called these warlike clerics hypocrites as they urged the use of revenge air-attacks and even dum-dum bullets. The majority of clergymen responded as best they could - they served as chaplains at the Front or special constables at home. Although some of their sons died in battle, any, who on grounds of conscience, exempted themselves from the Military Service Act 1916, attracted a a great deal of personal abuse. They seemed inadequate compared to the host of mediums, palmists, fortune-tellers and crystal-gazers, who sold amulets, charms, horoscopes and talismans to a gullible public. But the Church, in Perth, had begun to lose its authority long before 1914. Formal religion was in decline everywhere. Although the working-classes had had little contact with the Church for decades, it was the slackening among the middle-class church-goers that caused the most comment during the war. It was hardly surprising. The Victorian sabbath just could not compete with the modern bicycyle, motor-bike and motor car. Thus, there are other reasons for the decline of faith in Perth apart from the war. Basically, it was due to industrialization and the evolution of an overtly materialistic society. Then there was the growth of socialism, nationalism and a growing disenchantment with religious formalism and the Church's antiquated attitudes. As for Perth, it is ironic to note that while the Rev. C. Robertson, St. Andrew's Parish Church, died from wounds sustained at Salonica, the RC clergy of Perth refused to join their Episcopal brethren of St. Ninian's Cathedral in weekly intercessionary prayers for peace. It was hard to believe in religion after that. What did survive from the war was a strange blend of mysticism, fundamental evangelism, nihilism and pacifism - a totally useless brew for the problems of the 1930's.

Then we come to the greatest problem to decipher. Did World War One give women greater social freedom? The question is simplistic, because, in Perth at least, the key is class attitude. Upper-class women in Perth clearly regarded the war as an extension of their charity work, to help the less fortunate. Hence their heavy involvement in a mass of committees and clubs. Middle-class women, especially those married to professional men, had, for a change, to collect their own shopping, do their own washing and cook their own meals. No doubt this goes far to explain the more humane treatment of servants after the war. Young middle-class women, on the other hand, saw the war as an opportunity to escape family restraints and the stifling conventions of their home-towns. For a while it was great fun


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LEMON SQUASH

fun to drive a tram or an ambulance, and, after all, it was helping the war effort and was no disgrace. Working-class women in Perth were hardly touched by the war. They still had long, back-breaking hours in Pullars or Shields and then it was back home to feed the children, wash their clothes and clean the house. The fact that the health of so many improved during the war was not due to a better diet, but to the end of the old tradition of giving the most and the best to the male wage-earner as he was in France. Consequently, both wives and children were the better for it. Sadly, it did not last and with demob, it was back to the old ways. Drink and rough language, however unusual and disturbing to middle-class girls, was the rule for the factory floor. The pub-crawl existed in Perth long before 1914 as far as women were concerned. The little refinements came more from the cinema than the war. It was the films that taught self-awareness and poise, a new form of speech(Americanisms)and the use of cosmetics. It was the modern form of escapism and even better than drink. Magazines had the same impact, both the result of 19th century industrialization. As for careers, lower middle-class girls owed far more to the typewriter and shorthand than the war for their position in an office in the city. And the typewriter was the product of industrial development and not war. It was the same with sexual freedom stimulated by the bicycle, a 19th century product, rather than the war. This, far more than World War One, killed off the old tradition of chaperones. Indeed, the bicycle even influenced dress. A long skirt made cycling difficult and a corset made it impossible. Hence the bra. Again, if munition work is supposed to have liberated many women it certainly brought a lot more eczema and anaemia. It is often forgotten by commentators, that Perth, like Dundee, had long been a factory town, employing mainly women, who were married with families.

But, what about the vote? Did women win the franchise because of the war? It seems to me that, at least in Perth, the war delayed the suffrage for women. It had not been, at any time as many think a matter of justice, simply politics. The Liberal Government was plainly afraid of how women would use their vote, Tory, as they suspected, because of their opposition to Irish Home Rule. Ulster merely confirmed the Government's suspicions. Yet, in Perth, every leading figure, both Liberal and Unionist, was in favour of extending the franchise. As the Perth newspapers all pointed out time and time again Australia had granted it in 1902, Finland 1906 and Norway 1913 and all of these were pre-war. Even during the war Denmark and Iceland granted the suffrage in 1915 and they were neutrals. Clearly then, the gift of franchise depended on local circumstances. Of

Of course, it is even probable that a faster growth of the Labour Party would have granted it sooner. Did militancy then damage the women's cause? Probably not. Born of frustration and impatience it failed through lack of unity, and even more so, lack of clear policy. Sadly, when women did get the franchise after a long and gallant struggle, they made little of it. Few of them wanted to enter politics although they had campaigned noisily for it in Perth since 1872.

It is customary to make much of the increased powers of the State during World War One and indeed they were. But as far as Perth was concerned the State was intervening extensively in people's affairs by 1908 with its provisions for children and again in 1909 with the Cinematograph Film Act. In Perth the latter was the reason for the construction of specialised picture-houses and the closure of sub-standard premises. This, much more than the war. But the best example of the State's ever-increasing muscle was the setting up of the British Board of Film Censors in 1913. It was a hint of the future. Another aspect, which is strange is the oft-repeated claim that the war stimulated the Labour Party. In Perth, it was the direct opposite. In 1899 the Conservatives' main platform was Protection. Few believed in it. But by 1919, after the experience of war, the desire to avoid foreign entanglements, a wish to strengthen imperial bonds and a deep-rooted belief in the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, the Conservative numbers in Perth steadily grew. The Liberals, who had long dominated every aspect of life in the city, found themselves heading for the wilderness because of internal divisions, their adherence to a discredited belief in Free Trade, and, worst of all, the rise of a working-class group, the Labour Party. The latter had a substantial pre-1914 track record in Perth. Founded in 1907 they were vociferous in their condemnation of slums and high rents, but they failed in their bid to win over the Perth trade unions. And, in that, they never did succeed. This was partly due to their flirtation with the USSR in the romantic post-war period and their ignoring the fact that the people of Perth openly loathed the soviet system. Only the trade unions could give them the strength to overcome these problems and Perth was not sufficiently industrialized for that. Besides, by 1922 it was obvious that political polarization would make it harder to achieve.

There is no doubt that the standard of living in Perth rose during the war because wages were doubled, particularly during the later stages of the conflict. Naturally, the highest rises went to the poorest paid. Those outside the war economy, of course, did not share in this bonanza, particularly the building and textile workers. Differentials fell rapidly

rapidly as bonuses were paid as a flat-rate. Briefly, the picture was this: rampant inflation 1913-1920, that is starting before the war; a rapid fall 1920-1922; and then a moderate fall 1922-1932. Contemporaries were mystified by this, although they should not have been. Prices behaved excatly the same way after the Boer War. Analysis shows that food prices began to sneak upwards in Perth as early as 1906 and then, suddenly, leaping with a bound in 1911. The Coal Strike of 1912 actually led to the wage-scramble of 1913. After the war and the end of price controls the position worsened. In fact, it was not till just before 1914 that Perth Town Council decided to tackle seriously the problem of poverty. Over the war years the deferential attitude of the poor began to dissolve. Fewer now lived on the subsistence border and more money went on food than ever before. There was a high level of rent control and families were smaller. There was little unemployment, and, best of all, there were separation allowances for soldiers' wives. Thus, the Prince of Wales' Relief Fund was not actually needed in Perth as poverty had dwindled. Unfortunately, by 1921 it was on the return with a bigger threat for the 1930's, unemployment.

The standard view of trade unions is that they made their great advances in the post-war period with violence and militancy. As far as Perth is concerned they had been gathering strength since 1906 trying to create a social revolution by stages, 1909 and 1911. But it was in 1910 that they started their big push to win Perth. They knew that the Dyers' Union, potentially the largest, was the key and they used their best organisers - Hayhurst, Dallas, Brown, Macarthur, Rushworth, McLean and Sloan - to win it. The turning point came with the Rail Strike of 1911 when Perth was paralysed. This showed the way - unity was strength. By 1913 they were in process of launching their second attack on the matter of closed-shops when the war came. By 1919 they simply continued their pre-war militancy, which the violence at Stanley and Huntingtower should not obscure. By the 1920's their numbers were high in Perth. Then, with the cut-backs of 1921 and the trade unions' inability to do anything, their numbers fell away again in Perth.

Industry in Perth was marked in the immediate pre-war years by a move to limited liability company formats. This marked the end of the old family style of management dear to the hearts of the Pullars, Campbells and Shields. But, Pullars in particular suffered from an inherent defect - geographical isolation. This made the North British Dye Works and her local competitors helpless in the face of Rail and Coal Strikes. In fact, these together did more damage to the economy of Perth than the enemy did with their dye blockade. Only a reduction in their labour-intensive field and a switch to laundry

laundry might have saved them. The result is that it is false to blame the war and the stirring events of the Battle of the Gates in 1917 for their decline. It started long before, probably c.1904. If proof were needed that factors were changing it is found in the post-war prosperity of the General Accident in motor insurance, while by 1922 dyeing is clearly in decline, and this despite every technique of modern management - the 8am start, Works Councils, Staff Conferences, massive advertising, Pension, Sickness and Holiday Schemes. In a desperate attempt to save the situation cut-backs and probationary regulations pushed industrial relations back to the days before 1914.

Much in post-war Perth had not changed. As far as the people were concerned, an alien was an alien and not to be trusted, especially Germans. But now, even the French fell into that category. Crime had quickly recovered its place in police statistics, despite what sociologists might think about the loss of innocence and the growth of cynicism. The police simply showed their files - there was vandalism in Perth in 1851 and train hooliganism in 1863. There were no signs of much change in morality, but just a few in terms of the Law. Prostitutes still lurked on the Inches and the family was subjected to as much strain as before the war. Young men still enlisted in the army and everything seemed much as it was before.

Surely, one has to ask, there must be some lessons to emerge from this study of war? Indeed, there are. In brief, they are as follows. Change, as the truism says, is not progress and one must always remember that, particularly as faulty memory makes us selective in our recall and thus continually forming myths. Incredibly, modern scholars, historians and sociologists, who pride themselves on their devotion to the task of exposing such follies, create others in their turn. Common-sense should have told us all that wars effect different regions in different ways and that it is a thankless and impossible task to distinguish long-term trends from the continuum of war. It would seem obvious to me that the effects of any war are exaggerated. That this is so is proved by the speedy recovery of the combatants. Even the fields of Flanders bear no sign today of violent conflict. Despite the equally obvious fact that total war has got nothing to do with industrialization, but everything to do with lack of restraint, then total war is not new. It is as old as time itself. As for our modern society the motor car and the film had greater effect by far on our cities, our manners, our lives. Technology shapes our destiny, not wars. Indeed, wars act rather as a brake on development than as an accelerator. The reason why we talk so much about a war gives us the clue to the question with which we began. The effects of a war are purely psychological, a mixture of grief, guilt and memory. It is this mixture, as Ortega y Gasset said "which enters the soul of man."

How then does Perth compare with experiences described elsewhere? There are common strands which highlight the short term changes many communities experienced, but the longer-term outcomes were often very different. Compared to the others Perth appears to have gained little from the war in real terms, but in Croydon and Bristol, for example, potentially important new aircraft industries were established. It was the same with Birmingham and Swindon where motor car engineering took root on a large scale. Perth was probably too far from the centre of things to benefit much from the new industries. The impact of the war might very well have been different if the city had had a huge munition complex with thousands of incomers working long hours for high wages, desperate to find cheap accommodation, irritated by age-old working practices, keen to organise and express their militancy - the situation then would have been dramatically altered. It is the same with the generally accepted interpretation of the national scene. Far too many commentators assume that what happened in London or Glasgow has to be the benchmark for the rest of the United Kingdom. In fact, the effect of the 1914-1918 war on society was rather more like a mosaic with different parts of the country reacting differently. Only when each piece of the mosaic is examined in perspective will a final and true picture emerge. Not that every town and village has to be minutely scanned, but regional studies are the obvious way ahead. Only then will we understand in greater depth the impact of the war on social change during this period.

The case of Perth indicates that the link between war and social change is perhaps more tenuous than generalizations at the national level would have us suppose. Despite the fact that the United Kingdom emerged from the war relatively wealthy and unscathed, the lack of drama in a place like Perth should not obscure the fact that different areas of the country had different experiences of the war, Long-term trends, in this community, as in others, are the almost invisible threads in the background and they are hard to discern from immediate events. One thing is abundantly clear - the psychological impact of the war, as can be seen in religion and from the cinema, was the greatest legacy of the war.

war.

We know that change is the product of complex forces, both evolutionary and revolutionary, and that many of these changes do not last. It is doubtful if the war created anything new. After all, by the early 1920's the pre-war patterns in most areas of life had re-emerged. The war seemed to be little more than an interruption in longer term processes.

TABLE A

POPULATION:

YEAR	NUMBER	AREA	DENSITY/ACRE
1910	36,100	3,139	11.8
1911	35,851	"	11.4
1912	36,100	"	11.5
1913	35,100	"	11.1
1914	34,000	"	11.1
1915	35,729	"	↑
1916	35,534	"	↑
1917	35,402	"	11.4
1918	35,844	"	↓
1919	36,214	"	↓
1920	36,600	"	11.6
1921	33,208	"	10.5
1922	33,208	"	10.5

YEAR: only two of the above are Census Years(1911 and 1921)and in these one can expect accuracy. Even then, the population of Perth City was never great and as late as 1928 was only 33,667.

NUMBER: the other years are therefore "estimates of population." However, the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector rarely agreed. For example, in 1910 the M.O.'s estimate was 36,100, while the S.I. calculated 37,275. Both were too high. This is also true of the years 1915-1920. Thus, apparently precise figures are often deceptive.

AREA: in 1908 some 1,017 acres were added to the City area including parts of Scone, Tibbermore and Burghmuir.

DENSITY/ACRE: in 1901, with 2,122 acres, the density/acre was 15.53 "the least densely populated large city in Scotland." By 1908 this had risen to 16.5, hence the acquisition of more land. The position is best assessed by comparing Perth in 1910 with other cities - Leith 42; Greenock 39; Dundee 32; Edinburgh 31; Aberdeen 27 and Paisley 26.

TABLE B

BIRTH RATE:

YEAR	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1910	764	388	376
1911	740	367	373
1912	777	365	392
1913	686	355	331
1914	708	337	371
1915	624	↑	↑
1916	657		
1917	496	nd	nd
1918	464	↓	↓
1919	583		
1920	817	415	402
1921	656	328	328
1922	704	368	336

TOTAL: had been much higher, 811(1904) and 820(1905), but this was due to the imported labour for the construction of the Moncreiffe Tunnel. Again, the fall, 496(1917) and 464(1918) was not entirely due to the absence of men off to the War, nor to poverty, "nor to the stress of modern life, but is a consequence of the greater desire for luxury"(M.O., 1919). And this was a process first noted in 1904. Generally, the birth rate had been declining since c.1900 and only rose again 1919-1922 as it became fashionable to marry earlier. Care must be taken not to assess the birth rate on any vaccination lists as they never tally, for example, 711 in 1913 and 727 in 1914. This is due to the inclusion of rural children.

TABLE C

INFANT MORTALITY:

YEAR	NUMBER	/1,000 BIRTHS
1910	64	83.7
1911	96	129.0
1912	72	94.0
1913	78	113.0
1914	55	77.0
1915	↑	150.0
1916	|	74.0
1917	325	129.0
1918	|	129.0
1919	↓	90.0
1920	77	94.0
1921	74	114.0
1922	75	106.0

/1,000 BIRTHS: had been falling steadily in the pre-War period, for example, it was 129.3 in 1889, 97.6 in 1903 when Perth City was declared to be "healthy", 95.9 in 1906 "the lowest for any large town" and 83.5 in 1909. Both 1911 and 1913 were against the trend.. However, infant mortality rose dramatically during the War years, most of the deaths, 1915-1919, being due to premature births and congenital malformations(51%) and many others due to malnutrition(16%). In the post-War period it fell again, 90.0 in 1924 and 84.0 in 1928. Most children by then were born with medical attendance, especially midwives. By 1922 there were 20 midwives in Perth.

CHART B

CHART SHOWING THE BIRTH RATE PER 1000 IN THE CITY DURING THE PAST 25 YEARS.

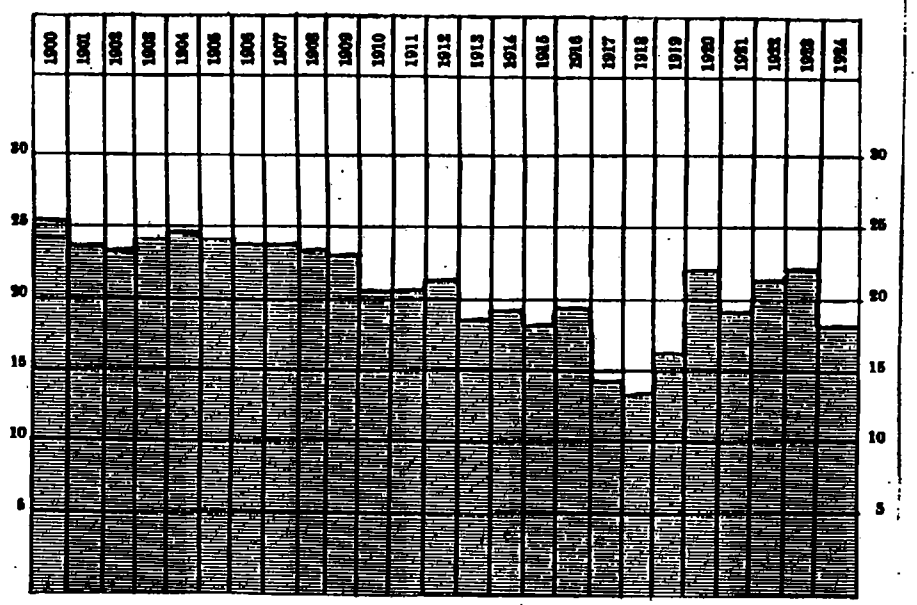

CHART C

CHART SHOWING THE INFANTILE DEATH RATE PER 1000 BIRTHS DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

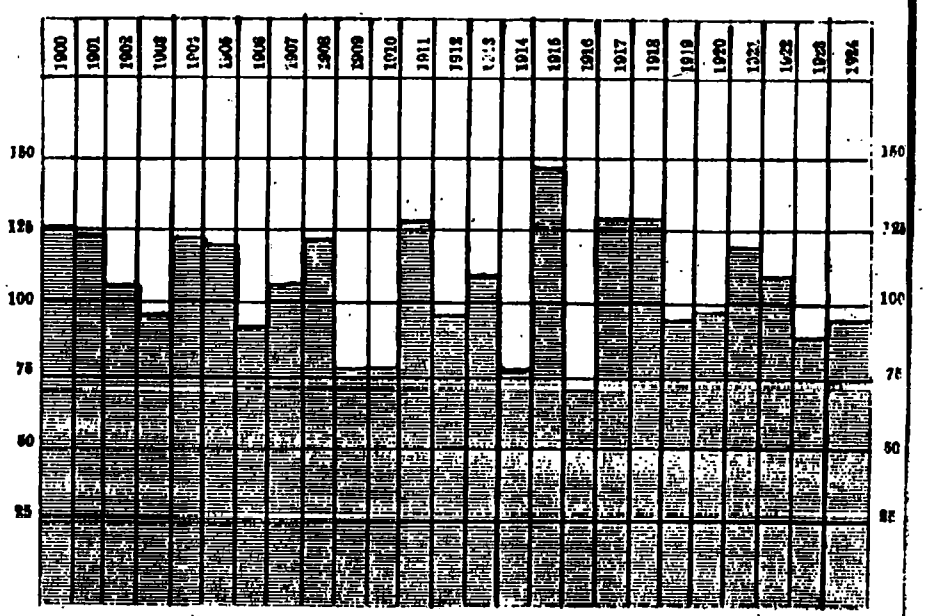

TABLE D

ILLEGITIMACY:

YEAR	NUMBER	% OF LIVE BIRTHS
1910	61	8.9
1911	65	8.7
1912	74	9.5
1913	51	7.4
1914	54	7.6
1915	↑	c9.5
1916	|	c10.4
1917	?	c10.3
1918	|	c12.3
1919	↓	c12.0
1920	74	9.0
1921	57	8.6
1922	60	8.5

NUMBER: throughout the period 1910-1922 the average number of illegitimate births could be expected to be just over 60. As early as 1906 there were 62 yet this brought an 8% of live births "the highest for any large town." After 1922 the number s fell till 1928 when it was only 39(6% of live births). This seems to have been due to an increasing number of abortions.

% OF LIVE BIRTHS: it should be noted that the actual numbers for the period 1915-1919 were not recorded and the %'s given are only estimates. Nevertheless, they are high. Of course, it should not be forgotten that there was a fairly large floating female population in Perth City during the War years - wives lodged in the area to be near their soldier-husbands, girls anxious to be with their soldier-lovers and pregnant rural girls seeking good medical care.

TABLE E

DEATHS:

YEAR	NUMBER	
1910	538	Corrected
1911	530	"
1912	535	"
1913	513	"
1914	480	"
1915	609	Not Corrected
1916	545	"
1917	519	"
1918	572	"
1919	548	"
1920	454	"
1921	578	"
1922	668	"

NUMBER: the number of deaths in the pre-War period seems very low compared to the War and post-War periods. This is due to the fact that the figures were "Corrected" by the Medical Officer of Health. By that he meant "no rural deaths" ie people from outside Perth City who died in the Infirmary or other institution. For example, the actual number of deaths in 1910(591), 1911(561) and 1912(606) were considerably higher. Again, the 1922 figure, which is "Not Corrected", contains no fewer than 137 "rurals." The fairly high number of deaths in 1915 and 1918 contained an unknown number of hospitalized soldiers who died from their wounds. The same is true for the figures in 1921 and 1922 which contain the influenza victims.

CHART D

CHART SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS DURING THE PAST 25 YEARS.

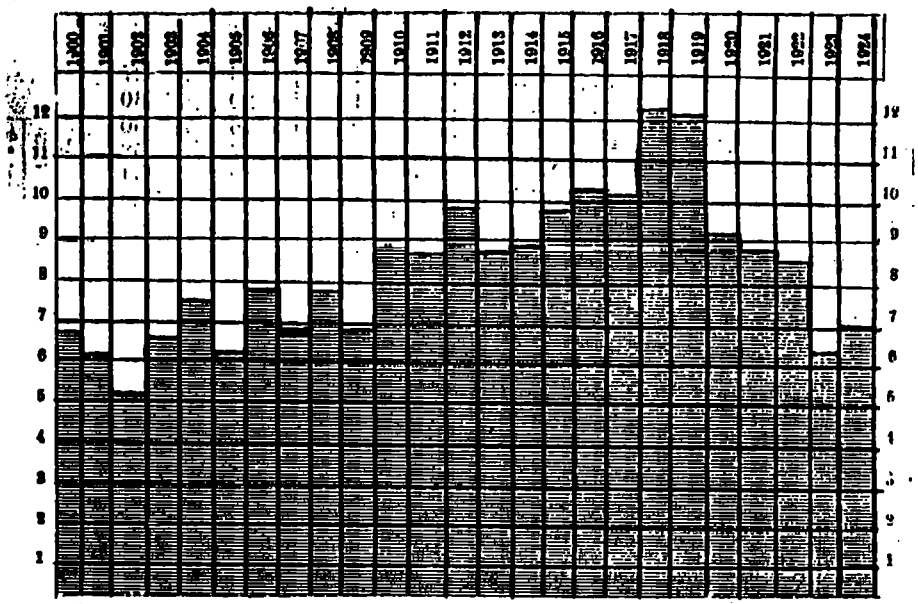

CHART E

CHART SHOWING THE DEATH RATE FOR THE PAST 25 YEARS.

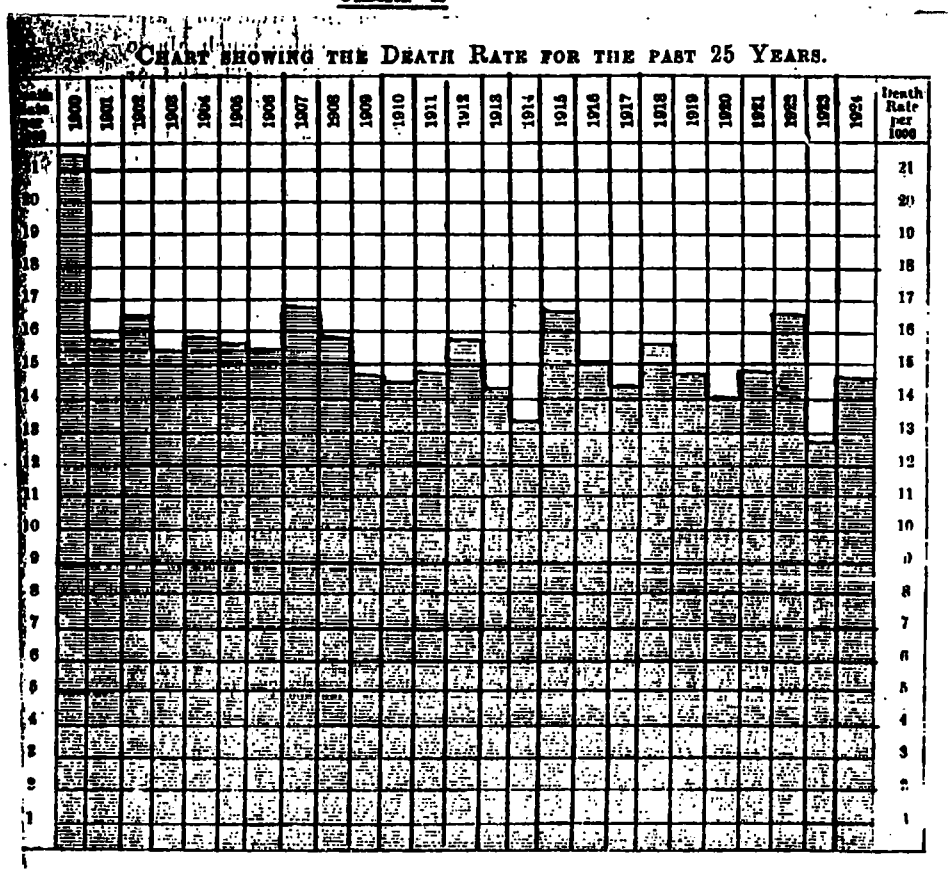

TABLE F

PHTHISIS:

YEAR	CASES	DEATHS	OTHER TB DEATHS
1910	-	35	-
1911	-	37	-
1912	-	38	-
1913	57	34	-
1914	47	34	16
1915	-	47	26
1916	-	37	16
1917	-	32	9
1918	-	37	6
1919	-	31	8
1920	-	26	-
1921	-	24	-
1922	-	29	-

PHTHISIS: was sometimes listed as Consumption and sometimes as Tuberculosis(TB). As can be seen the records were not well kept. However, the number of deaths had been falling steadily since 1898(76). In 1900 there were 61, in 1903 there were 59, in 1906 there were 58, in 1907 there were 50, in 1908 there were 44 and in 1909 there were 39. This was due, in large measure, to the appearance of sanatoria c1900, but these catered mainly for middle-class victims. Friarton Hospital 1909 took working-class patients, but as was observed in 1919, by the time they were diagnosed it was too late.

CASES: of course, there were far more cases than are recorded. For instance, in 1906 it was estimated that there were at least 1,000 TB sufferers in Perth City.

DEATHS: by 1908 there was as much concern for the rising number of cancer deaths. Bone TB deaths were largely ignored till 1909 when 16 died. Indeed, phthisis was not notifiable till 1912, the result of work done by a Special TB Committee set up in 1911. By 1915 all forms of TB were notifiable and by 1925 the term phthisis had virtually gone. As late as 1928 lung TB killed 22 in Perth City.

TABLE G

TYPHOID FEVER:

YEAR	NUMBER	DEATHS
1910	7	3
1911	12	2
1912	3	1
1913	30	7
1914	12	3
1915	4	↑
1916	1	|
1917	4	5
1918	3	|
1919	62	↓
1920	6	2
1921	13	1
1922	11	0

NUMBER: periodically there were outbreaks of this disease(commonly listed as enteric fever) as in 1913 and 1919. The latter was very severe in August, 1919 and was classified as an epidemic.

DEATHS: although the number of deaths slowly declined the disease was far from controlled and in 1925 there were actually 8 deaths.

CHART F

CHART SHOWING THE DEATH RATE FROM PHTHISIS DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

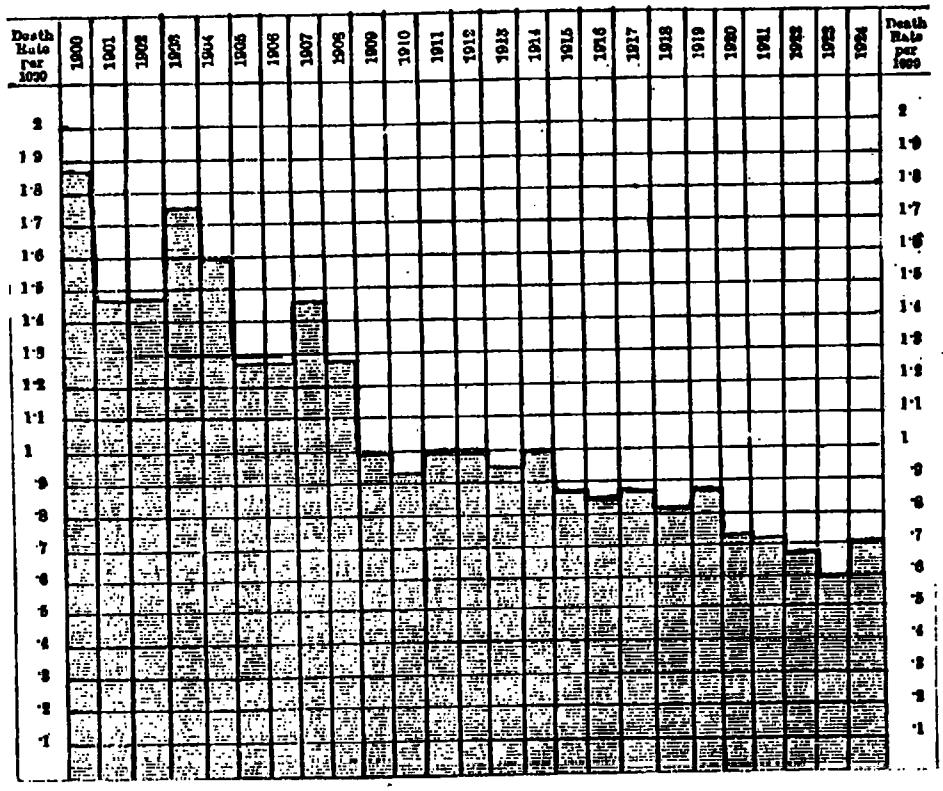

CHART G

CHART SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CASES OF TYPHOID DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

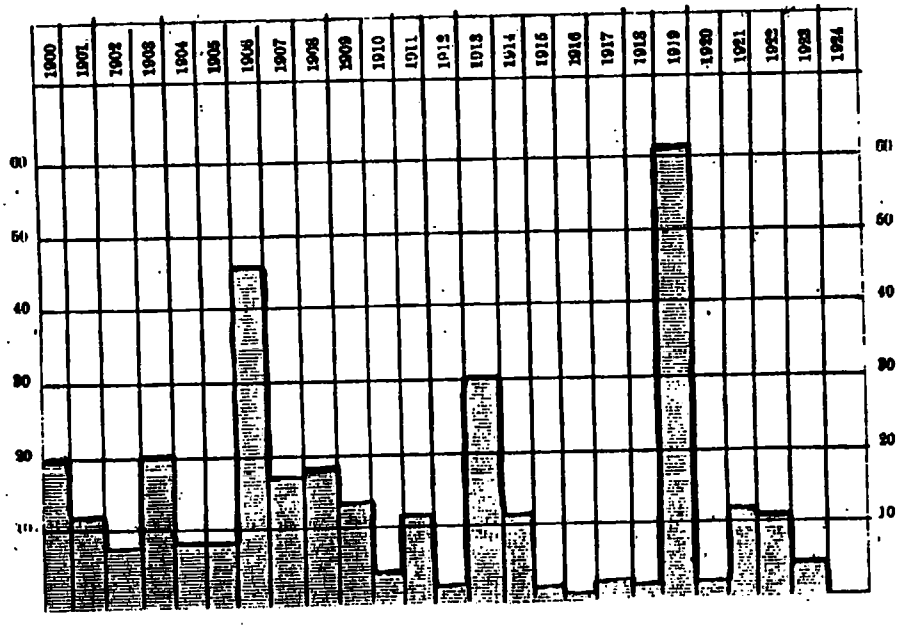

TABLE H

DIPHTHERIA:

YEAR	NUMBER	DEATHS
1910	157	15
1911	172	21
1912	89	6
1913	59	8
1914	44	4
1915	103	↑
1916	180	
1917	57	29
1918	55	
1919	83	↓
1920	79	4
1921	42	2
1922	18	2

NUMBER: like other infectious diseases the number of victims fell steadily throughout the pre-War period. Of course, there were still occasional outbreaks as in 1927 when there were 63 cases and again in 1928 when there were a further 114 cases.

TABLE I

SCARLET FEVER:

YEAR	NUMBER	DEATHS
1910	361	11
1911	155	3
1912	60	1
1913	45	1
1914	45	0
1915	98	↑
1916	168	↑
1917	42	5
1918	8	↓
1919	23	↓
1920	148	1
1921	68	0
1922	19	0

DEATHS: clearly there had been great advances made in the treatment of this disease in the pre-War period, especially after 1909 with the opening of the Friarton Fever Hospital. However, like so many other infectious illnesses it returned in a more virulent form in 1924-1925. In the former year there were 495 cases and 11 deaths. In the latter year there were 563 cases and another 11 deaths.

TABLE J

CANCER:

YEAR	DEATHS
1910	35
1911	30
1912	52
1913	28
1914	36
1915	↑
1916	|
1917	?
1918	|
1919	↓
1920	45
1921	41
1922	45

DEATHS: were actually higher before 1910. For instance, in 1906 there were 39 deaths, in 1908 there were 50 deaths and in 1909 there were another 47. In other words, there was a rise 1899-1908 and then a fall 1908-1911. Certainly by 1912 there were more deaths from cancer than even TB and the authorities were greatly concerned by this development. During the War-period the situation was confused by diagnoses of "cancer or malignant disease" and no figures are available. The disease thereafter increased and by 1926 there were 55 deaths - a new scourge had emerged.

CHART J

CHART SHOWING THE DEATH RATE FROM CANCER OR MALIGNANT DISEASE DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

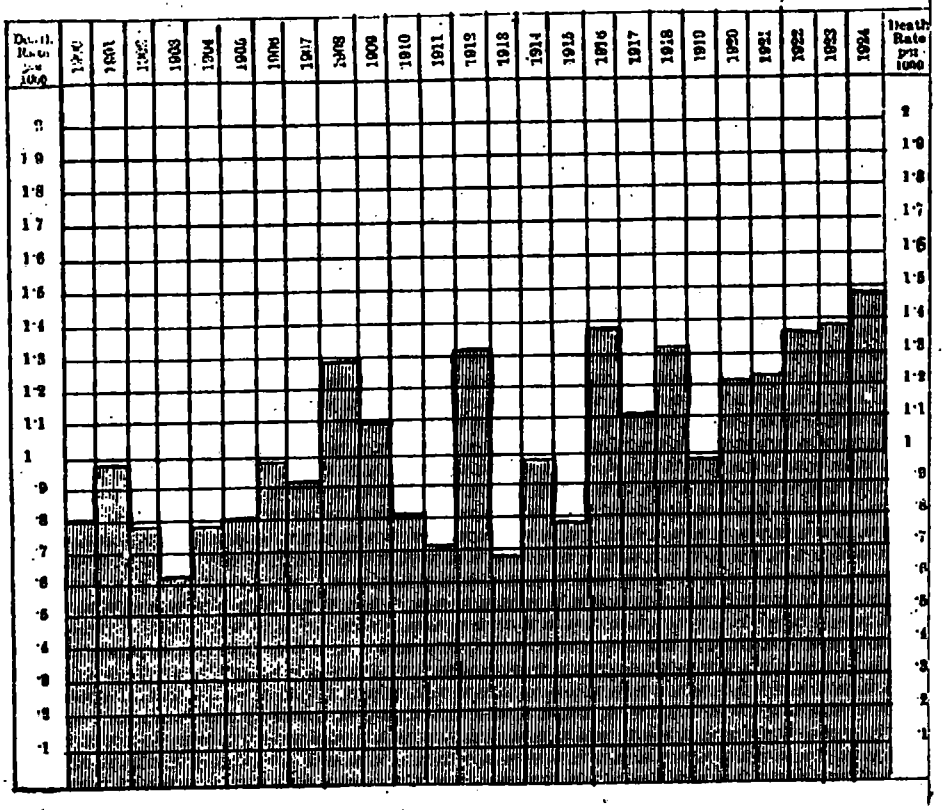

TABLE K

DISEASES AND DEATHS:

YEAR	NOTIFIABLE DISEASES	INFLUENZA	WHOOPING COUGH	MOTORS
1910	564	11	1	0
1911	385	5	17	0
1912	231	5	14	1
1913	222	3	5	3
1914	207	3	2	0
1915	297	↑	↑	↑
1916	419			
1917	171	116	30	1
1918	127			
1919	252	↓	↓	↓
1920	326	3	1	0
1921	323	10	6	4
1922	140	24	6	4

NOTIFIABLE DISEASES: as can be seen from the above considerable progress was made in the pre-War period against disease. The upsurge thereafter was due to the continual increase in notifiable diseases, such as chickenpox in 1914. Thus the number of cases grew greater - 614 in 1924 and 684 in 1925.

INFLUENZA: deaths decreased in the pre-War period, but the movement of large numbers of people 1914-1919 saw the figures rise until the post-War epidemic.

WHOOPING COUGH: caused a surprisingly high death toll of 82 during the period 1910-1922, but was destined to fall continuously thereafter.

MOTORS: on the other hand, was destined to rise as more and more vehicles came on to the roads. By 1828 there were 8 deaths.

TABLE L

DISEASES AND DEATHS:

YEAR	MEASLES	VENEREAL DISEASES
1910	4	1
1911	6	0
1912	2	0
1913	1	1
1914	2	1
1915	↑	↑
1916		
1917	31	0
1918		
1919		
1920	↓ 8	↓ 2
1921	0	1
1922	4	2

MEASLES: pre-1910 deaths from measles had always been much higher. For instance, there were 19 in 1905 and 7 in 1907. Once again, there was always the risk of the occasional deadly strain.

VENEREAL DISEASES: in fact, all these deaths were due to syphilis. It is interesting to note that there were no deaths from VD in either 1908 or 1909. Of course, there were many cases in the War-period, but provision for treatment was much improved. In 1916 a VD Scheme in Perth Royal Infirmary started with 2 male and 2 female beds. In 1918 the Infirmary opened a VD Observation Ward and in May, 1923 a VD Centre. It catered for 63 cases - 27 syphilis(16 male and 10 female), 6 mixed(5 male and 1 female) and 30 gonorrhoea(23 male and 7 female)all treated with Salvarsan Substitute. Over that year 75 cases were treated but only 10 belonged to the City of Perth. In the following five years, 1924-1928 there were 6 deaths among the 291 cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea - 212 males and 79 females.

TABLE M

POOR-HOUSE MONTHLY AVERAGES:

YEAR	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	DEATHS(per annum)
1910	162	88	69	8	9	45
1911	165	83	64	6	12	31
1912	158	81	61	6	9	34
1913	145	78	54	7	6	31
1914	161	87	59	7	7	26
1915	134	70	55	4	5	50
1916	112	49	53	4	6	28
1917	68	40	25	1	2	35
1918	54	29	21	1	2	26
1919	68	36	25	4	3	30
1920	83	46	31	4	2	30
1921	94	51	36	2	4	46
1922	112	64	40	3	5	35

TOTAL: although the figures don't tally exactly(because they are averages) it is clear that there was a dramatic fall in the numbers in the Perth Poor-House 1914-1918 from 161 to 54. Likewise , it is obvious that there was a subsequent rise in 1919-1922 from 68 to 112. Sadly, this was to continue - 147(1923), 160(1924), 161 (1925), 163(1926) and 188(1927). The number of children had increased after March, 1910 due to the Childrens' Act.

DEATHS: were actually falling in the pre-War period 1910-1914, then rose during the War 1915-1918 and stayed much the same in the post-War period 1918-1922. No doubt policy contributed to these figures. For instance, great efforts were made to trim costs and all too often poor quality food was supplied eg January, 1912 "the meat smells." Births were registered in March, 1912 - 21 and by November, 1912 separate sex wards were established to meet this problem. During the War this brought a fair measure of success - 1 birth in1917 and only 3 in 1918. By 1919 the figure had risen to 10 live births.

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CC1/3/5/37 Letter Book 1910; CC1/3/5/38 1910-1911; CC1/3/5/39 1911; CC1/3/5/40 1911-1912; CC1/3/5/41 1912; CC1/3/5/42 1912-1913; CC1/3/5/43(Jan-June) 1913; CC1/3/5/44(June-Dec) 1913; CC1/3/5/45 1914; CC1/3/5/46 1914; CC1/3/5/47 1914-1915; CC1/3/5/48 1915; CC1/3/5/49 1915-1916; CC1/3/5/50 1916; CC1/3/5/51 1916-1917; CC1/3/5/52(Jan-May) 1917; CC1/3/5/53(May-Nov) 1917; CC1/3/5/54 1917-1918; CC1/3/5/55 1918-1919; CC1/3/5/56(Mar-July) 19-19; CC1/3/5/57(July-Dec) 1919; CC1/3/5/58 1919-1920; CC1/3/5/59(Ap-Aug) 1920; CC1/3/5/60(Aug-Dec) 1920; CC1/3/5/61 1920-1921; CC1/3/5/62 1921; CC1/3/5/63 1921-1922; CC1/3/5/64 1922; CC1/3/5/65 1922-1923

Perth County Clerk's Miscellanea:

CC1/3/8/1 Letter Book 1915-1919

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Perth County Fund:

CC1/4/5/2 Payments 1907-1920; CC1/4/5/3 1920-1921

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CC1/4/5/9 Ledger 1910-1915; CC1/4/5/10 1915-1920; CC1/4/5/11 1920-1922

Perth County Council Secondary Education Committee:

CC1/5/1/2 Minutes 1909-1911; CC1/5/1/3 1911-1914; CC1/5/1/4 1912-1916 (MS); CC1/5/1/5 1916-1918(MS); CC1/5/1/6 1909-1916; CC1/5/1/8 Letters 1910-1912; CC1/5/1/9 1912-1913; CC1/5/1/10 1913-1915; CC1/5/1/11 1915-1916; CC1/5/1/12 1916-1918; CC1/5/1/13 1918-1920; CC1/5/1/14 Rules 1909-1911; CC1/5/1/15 1911-1915; CC1/5/1/16 1915-1919

Perthshire Education Authority:

CC1/5/2/1 Minutes 1919-1920; CC1/5/2/2 1920-1921; CC1/5/2/3 1921-1922; CC1/5/2/4 1922-1923

School Log Books:

CC1/5/7/2 Aberdalgie 1885-1912; CC1/5/7/3 1912-1949; CC1/5/7/19 Cherrybank 1904-1959; CC1/5/7/65a Kinfauns 1896-1948; CC1/5/7/78 Rhynd 1870-1923; CC1/5/7/81 Southern 1902-1929; CC1/5/7/97 Craigend 1874-1916; CC1/5/7/98 1916-1973; CC1/5/7/117 Central 1877-1923; CC1/5/7/151 Tibbermore 1873-1938

Registers of Admissions/Withdrawals:

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Perth School Management Committees:

CC1/5/11/1A Minutes 1919-1921; CC1/5/11/1B 1921-1925

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CC1/5/13/23 Minutes 1910-1911; CC1/5/13/24 1911-1912; CC1/5/13/25 1912-1914; CC1/5/13/26 1914-1918; CC1/5/13/27 1915-1917; CC1/5/13/28 1917-1919

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CC1/5/13/31A 1902-1912; CC1/5/13/31B 1912-1920

Ledgers:

CC1/5/13/43B 1910-1912; CC1/5/13/43C 1912-1914; CC1/5/13/43D 1914-1916; CC1/5/13/43E 1916-1918; CC1/5/13/43F 1918-1919

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CC1/5/13/44A 1912-1917; CC1/5/13/44B 1917-1919

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Medical Reports:

CC1/5/13/99 1907-1913; CC1/5/13/100 1914-1919

School Boards:

CC1/5/15/1 Aberdalgie 1895-1918; CC1/5/46/2 Dunbarney 1893-1919; CC1/5/66/1 Kinnoull 1873-1919; CC1/5/86/3 Redgorton 1903-1919; CC1/5/86/3 Scone 1909-1919; CC1/5/93/2 Tibbermore 1900-1919

School Management Committees:

CC1/5/83/1A Perth Academy 1919-1926; CC1/5/134/1 Scone 1919-1930

Prospectuses:

CC1/5/151/2 Perth Academy 1914-1915; CC1/5/151/3 1915-1916; CC1/5/151/4 1916-1917; CC1/5/151/9 1921-1922; CC1/5/152/1 Sharp's 1907-1915

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CC1/7/24/1 Kinnoull Minutes 1895-1929; CC1/7/34/2 Scone 1878-1916; CC1/7/34/3 1916-1926

Burgh of Perth Valuation Roll:

CC1/8/3/123 1910-1911; CC1/8/3/124 1911-1912; CC1/8/3/125 1912-1913; CC1/8/3/126 1913-1914; CC1/8/3/127 1914-1915; CC1/8/3/128 1915-1916; CC1/8/3/129 1916-1917; CC1/8/3/130 1917-1918; CC1/8/3/131 1918-1919; CC1/8/3/132 1919-1920; CC1/8/3/133 1920-1921; CC1/8/3/134 1921-1922

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CC1/9/1/5 Journal; CC1/9/1/6 1914-1919; CC1/9/1/7 1920-1924

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PE1/2/5 Minutes 1862-1910

Perth Police Department:

PE1/3/29 Ledgers 1909-1912; PE1/3/30 1911-1912; PE1/3/31 1915-1919; PE1/3/32 1919-1922; PE1/3/42 Interests Book 1904-1914; PE1/3/45 1915-1925; PE1/3/50 Bond Register 1904-1914; PE1/3/51 1909-1935

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PE1/4/21 Ledgers 1893-1915; PE1/4/25 Imports 1901-1912; PE1/4/26 1912-1939

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PE1/4/30 1902-1912; PE1/4/31 1912-1915

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PE1/5/20 Ledgers 1906-1911; PE1/5/21 1911-1917; PE1/5/22 1917-1927

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PE1/6/7 Revenue 1907-1932; PE1/6/8 Register 1907-1932

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PE1/10/2 Register 1905-1923; PE1/10/16 1877-1927

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Perth Parish Council - Review Committee:

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PE1/14/16 Minutes 1895-1920; PE1/14/17 1920-1929

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PE1/17/1 Minutes 1886-1926

Perth Cemeteries - Principal Registers:

PE1/20/14 1910-1919; PE1/20/15 1919-1929

Perth Tradesmen:

PE1/21/1 1876-1937

Perth Town Council Adverts(Press Cuttings):

PE1/22/12 1912-1923

Perth Trust Minutes:

PE1/24/1 Graham 1882-1971; PE1/25/1 Fraser 1876-1955; PE1/26/1B 1854-1971

Perth Town Council - Counsels ' Opinions:

PE1/31/2 1904-1960

Perth Registers:

PE1/33/1 Explosives 1876-1911; PE1/33/2 1912-1935; PE1/34/1 Petroleum 1876-1915; PE1/34/2 1915-1947; PE1/35/1 Poisons 1909-1935; PE1/37/1 Cinemas 1913-1958; PE1/38/1 Public Refreshment 1913-1935; PE1/40/2 Brokers 1890-1971

Perth Town Clerk:

PE1/46/2 Cash Book 1910-1913; PE1/46/2 1913-1919; PE1/46/4 1919-1923

Perth National Registration:

PE1/48/1 Arrivals 1915-1917; PE1/48/2 1917-1919; PE1/48/5 Letters 1916-1917; PE1/48/6 1917; PE1/48/7 1917-1918; PE1/48/8 1918-1919

Perth War Pensions Committee:

PE1/49/1 Letters 1908-1918; PE1/49/2 1918-1922

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PE1/53/16 Lists 1910-1911; PE1/53/17 1911-1912; PE1/53/18 1912-1913; PE1/53/19 1913-1914; PE1/53/20 1914-1915; PE1/53/21 1915-1916; PE1/53/22 1916-1917; PE1/53/23 1917-1918; PE1/53/24 1918-1919; PE1/53/25 1919-1920; PE1/53/26 1920-1921; PE1/53/27 1921-1922; PE1/53/28 1922-1923

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PE2/4/10 1910-1911; PE2/4/11 1911-1912; PE2/4/12 1912-1913; PE2/4/13 1913-1914; PE2/4/14 1914-1915; PE2/4/15 1915-1916; PE2/4/16 1916-1917; PE2/4/17 1917-1918; PE2/4/18 1918-1919; PE2/4/19 1919-1920; PE2/4/21 1921-1922

Perth Town Council Revenue Rolls:
PE2/11/10 1904-1917; PE2/11/11 1917-1928

Perth Medical Officer Reports:
PE4/1/3 1909-1913; PE4/1/4 1914-1923; PE4/1/5 1923-1928

Perth Sanitary Reports:
PE4/3/1 1911; PE4/3/2 1912; PE4/3/12 1922

Perth Town Council Lodging Houses:
PE4/5/2 1898-1948

Perth Sandeman Library:
PE6/1/2 Minutes 1905-1913; PE6/1/3 1913-1919; PE6/1/4 1919-1925; PE6/2/2 Letters 1906-1914; PE6/2/3 1914-1926; PE6/5/2 Ledgers 1906-1916; PE6/5/3 1916-1924; PE6/11/2 Accessions 1903-1935

Perth Town Council Housing Schemes:
PE7/1/1 1921-1926

Perth Town Council Tramway:
PE8/1/8 Ledgers 1903-1914; PE8/1/3 1914-1918; PE8/1/4 1918-1923

Perth Town Council Electricity Department:
PE10/1/1 Ledgers 1899-1931

Detention Places for Children:
PE14/1/12

Housing and Town Planning:
PE14/1/14

Perth Town Council Allotments Register:
PE2/16/1

County Police Committees:
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County Police General Order Books:
POL1/2/3 1905-1915; POL1/2/4 1915-1918; POL1/2/5 1918-1927; POL1/2/9 Index 1905-1964

Chief Constable's Memoranda:
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Burgh Private Letters:

POL1/8/1 1891-1916

County Police - General Orders:

POL1/13/1 1893-1931

Burgh Police - Letter Books:

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Burgh Police - Private Letters:

POL1/15/1 1895-1923; POL1/15/2 1923-1941

County Police - Applicants:

POL1/20/1 1897-1922

County Police - Superannuation:

POL1/22/2 1891-1916

Burgh Police - Defaulters:

POL1/28/2 1905-1921

Burgh Police - Pay Books:

POL1/29/8 1908-1919; POL1/29/9 1919-1930

County Police - Criminals:

POL1/36/10 Registers 1910-1912; POL1/36/11 Records 1913-1915; POL1/36/12 1916-1918; POL1/36/13 1920-1922; POL1/36/14 1923-1926; POL1/36/24 Index 1910-1912; POL1/36/25 1913-1915; POL1/36/26 1916-1918; POL1/36/27 1920-1922; POL1/36/28 1924-1926

County Police - Juvenile Offenders:

POL1/37/1 1903-1915; POL1/37/2 1915-1918; POL1/37/3 1919-1933; POL1/37/12 Whippings 1903-1945

County Police - Charge Books:

POL1/38/9 1910-1912

County Police - Photograph Records:

POL1/42/1 1912-1915; POL1/42/2 1915-1937

County Police - Sudden Deaths:

POL1/43/2 1909-1913; POL1/43/3 1913-1915; POL1/43/4 1915-1919; POL1/43/5 1919-1923; POL1/43/6 1923-1956

County Police - Miscellanea:

POL1/44/4 1906-1923; POL1/44/9 1907-1920; POL1/44/10 1920-1922

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POL1/45/3 1915

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POL1/48/1 1919-1921; POL1/48/2 1921-1922; POL1/48/3 1922-1923; POL1/48/4 1923-1925

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POL1/50/3 1915-1928

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POL1/51/1 1883-1944

Burgh Police - Register of Prisoners:

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County Police - Press Cuttings:

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Manuscripts:

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Typographical Society - Perth Branch:

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Amalgamated Engineering Union - Perth Branch:
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ORAL SOURCES:

MRS. ISA REEVE (b. 1899)

MR. DICK MUIRHEAD (b. 1901)

MISS JANET DALGLEISH (b. 1902)

LESLIE'S DIRECTORY

FOR

PERTH AND PERTHSHIRE,

1899-1900.

PERTH.

Barossa Place.

1 Donald M. Mackay, solicitor
3 Misses Macnaughton
5 Robert Halley, grain merchant
7 Miss Murray MacGregor
9 Thomas Bannister, bootmaker
11 Very Rev. Vincent L. Borison
13 Misses Robertson
15 Mrs James Y. Nicoll, stationer
17 Mrs James P. Bramwell
19 David M. Smith, timekeeper
.. William M'Gregor
21 John M'Intosh, stockbroker
.. Mrs Alexander Ramsay
23 William Mackay, plasterer
.. Robert Mackay, architect
25 John Thomas, sheriff-clerk, &c.
27 Rev. D. Elder Omand, Free St. Paul's
29 William Campbell, surveyor
31 John Jamieson
34 Mrs C. J. Murphy, broker
22 Grace M'Leish
Stormont Street here
18 Miss E. C. Livingstone
16 Andrew T. Mackay, clothier
Barossa Street here
8 John Silver, tailor's cutter
.. Mrs Alexander Green
.. William M'Gregor, clerk
.. Robert Wilson, timekeeper
.. Grace M. Wylie, feather dresser
4 Alex. Thomson, cooper
.. Mary M. Dow
.. D. H. Christie, teacher of music
2 Mary & Elizabeth Halley
.. Agnes Grant, lodgings

Castlegable.

3 William Marnoch, labourer
5 Mrs Alexander Doig
.. Henry Cuthbert, shoemaker
.. Robert Leitham, gasworker
.. David Bell, dyer's finisher
2 Mrs William Simpson
9 Mrs John White
.. John Peggie, wood turner
.. Maggie M'Duff, weaver
.. Alexander Petrie, labourer
.. Mrs John M'Neill
.. John M'Farlane, lapper
.. Mrs Jessie Davidson, weaver
11 Alexander M'Martin, saddler
15 William Ames, baker
17 BRUCE PLACE—
Matthew Mason, seaman
.. David Traill, glassblower
.. David Galletly, bobbin turner
.. James Murray, vanman
Alexander Lornie, dyer
.. James Barty, dyer's finisher
21 Peter Bisset, labourer
23 Hugh M'Kinlay, dyer's finisher
.. John Black, blacksmith
.. William Dow, barman
.. Mrs Anthony Matthie, lodgings
.. David Cunningham, innkeeper
.. Mrs Crow
25 C. & J. M'Donald, wine merchants
27 Bernard M'Anally, shoemaker
.. John A. M'Glashan, carter
.. Thomas Henichen, coal merchant
.. Mrs Patrick Scarry
.. Mrs Mary Davidson
.. Mrs William Gardiner
29 William A. Kittles, painter
31 Alexander Stewart, cowfeeder
.. John Malcolm Moore, tailor
33 James Stewart, postboy
.. John Lyden, labourer
.. James Wighton, mason
.. James Taylor, labourer
37 Mrs A. Allan, confectioner
39 Alexander M'Farlane, fireman
.. John Sinclair, window cleaner
39 William Harris, carter
.. James Geekie, tailor
.. William Hamil, labourer
.. Alexander Cameron, coachbuilder
.. James Clark, painter
.. John Fyfe, dyer
.. Mrs David Duff
.. John Younger, dyer's labourer
.. William Malcolm, porter
.. William Ford, gas stoker
.. Peter Mutch, carter
41 Peter Dow, joiner
43 George Robertson, dairyman
45 John Stewart, tailor
58 John M'Pherson, painter
.. Andrew Haggart, labourer
56 Mrs Christopher Hutchison
46 James Leaver, labourer
44 David Malcolm, labourer
.. Alexander Stewart, labourer
42 Neil Kennedy, shoemaker
40 Alexander Morton, labourer

HORSE CROSS—
3 James Shepherd, labourer
30 Mrs Christina Campbell, washer
28 Frederick Field, gardener
.. Mrs Jane Irvine
.. Thomas M. M'Gregor, printer, &c.
10 James Low, confectioner
8 Margaret Burgess
.. Alexander Sutherland, labourer
.. John Henderson, labourer
.. Dougal M'Laren, cabman
.. Alexander Stewart, fish dealer
.. John Kippen, painter

Glasgow Road

(West of York Place).

ELIBANK STREET—
Alex. Campbell & Son, coal agents
Wilson & Clyde Coal Co.
James Frame, coal agent
Peter Peebles, coal agent
Thos. Muir, Son, & Patton, coal agents
Auction Mart—Alex. Peddie, shepherd
Tramway Co.'s Waiting Room

ROSSLYN PLACE—
1 William J. Duncan, wood merchant
2 Alexander Kennedy, gardener
3 John Kennedy
4 Isaac Ash, bootmaker
5 James M'Naughton, com. traveller
6 Mrs James Moir, grocer
7 James Anderson, butcher
8 Thomas M. Macgregor, printer
9 Matthew S. Anderson, china merch.
10 Thomas Hunter, newspaper editor
11 John Campbell, coal merchant
12 Mrs Catherine Arthur
13 John Smeaton, ironturner
14 Andrew Bell
Fechney Industrial School—
James Hutchison, superintendent
Durie Rouse—Alex. P. Suttie, grocer

ROSE CRESCENT—
1 John M'Farlane, joiner
2 David Scringeour, grocer
3 David Powrie, tackman
4 Robert Walker, bookseller
5 C. Franklin Chambers, chemist
6 Alexander Lindsay, preserve manufr.
7 Peter M'Lean, fruiterer
8 Daniel Reid, spirit merchant
William Aitken, live stock agent
James Kirkwood, commercial traveller
David Buchan, builder
Mrs John Scott
Mrs Hector Munro
Mrs Jehu Tyler
Mrs John Henderson
Mrs James Fraser
Alexander Stewart, joiner
Misses Green
James Brow, spirit dealer
James Easson, builder
Mrs Dr. Hempel
Thomas I. Miller, cashier
Frank Whitehouse, piano tuner
John Innes Cormack, tailor's cutter
Alexander Stewart, solicitor
Montague Villa—David Edwards, dyer
Florence Villa—John M. Doig, dyer
James Boyd, commercial traveller

CUTHBERT PLACE—
2 John Shiland, manager Rubber Co.
3 Mrs Duncan M'Lean
4 David Murie, brassfinisher
5 Mrs William Barlass
6 Mrs John Palmer
7 Charles Watkins, railway inspector
Laburnum Villa—
Joseph S. Nicoll, bookseller
James Isaac, retired draper
William Shaw, solicitor
William Drummond, traveller
Almond Villa—
P. D. Malloch, fishing tackle maker
The Pines—Alexander Davidson, water manager
Garfield—John Sime, Secy. John Dewar & Sons, Ltd.
Milend Villa—George Brown, missionary
Roselea—Mrs David Bruce
Viewout—Mrs David M'Inroy
Tregaron—James L. Christie
Dungarth—Jas. S. Watt, com. traveller

Briarbank—Mrs John Jack
Westfield—Mrs Malcolm Stewart
Viewfield—Wm. F. M'Cash, grain mer.
Tullylumb Terrace—
James Mitchell, solicitor
Gilbert Doull, com. traveller, Orig
Hamilton House and Lodge—
Rev. Archibald Fleming, B.A.
John Halkerston, gardener
Robert M'Adam, coachman
Viewlands House and Lodge—
John Young, gardener
Viewfield Cottage—Andrew Staig, mason
Viewfield—Robert Munro, coachman
Mrs John Parker
Waverley Bank—
Joseph Dawson, commercial traveller
Viewlands Terrace—
1 Alexander Bennett, plant inspector
2 Mrs Jane Waddell
3 William Nicolson, traffic inspector
4 Helen M'Vicar
5 Robert Forrest, teacher
6 John Mackintosh, cabinetmaker
7 John Craik, aerated water manufctr.
8 David M'Donald, cabinetmaker
James M. Young, printer
Westerfield—F. W. Bedford, bank agent
Bon-Accord—Alexander Glass, druggist
Rev. W. G. H. Carmichael, M.A.
Beechwood—Andrew Hutcheson, farmer
Rosedale—Rev. A. Sutherland, M.A.
Joppa—Catherine Readdie
Union Mount—
Thos. D. Jackson, live stock salesman
St. John's Villa—Robt. Hunter, solicitor
Craigroyston—Mrs D. L. Gregor
Grange—David Clark, baker
Midfield—John Alexander, M.A.
Homewood—John Annal, com. traveller
Darville—Arch. Aitoun, com. traveller
Claremont—George Meikle, spirit dealer
Norwood—Wm. Wayte, M.A., B.Sc.
The Brae James Smart, architect
Sarsfield—James M'Cormack, com. trav.
Thistlebank—W. B. Richardson
Alexander J. Cameron, manager
Sunnybank—Rev. James H. Cameron
Mrs William Crawford
Silverdale—Walter S. Purdie, com. agent
Castleview—Mrs Angus Macdonald
Orchardbank—James Beveridge
The Orchard—
Geo. Mackay, county sanitary inspector
Pitheavlis Cottages—John Birnie, fireman
Mrs William Gibb
Peter Paterson, labourer
David Pritchard, carter
William Roy, labourer
Pitheavlis Castle—James Glass, printer
Wm. Dawson, market gardener
Arthur Hamilton, contractor
Strathview—Wm. Watson, plumber
Ellislee—James Caddell
Bona View—
1 George Martin, commercial traveller
2 David T. Hunter, draper
3 Samuel T. Ellison, umbrella manufr.
4 John Cruickshank, commercial traveller
Rosenhein—David Watt, grocer
James W. Wilson, commercial traveller
Eilbank Villa—
William Thorburn, solicitor
John J. Thomson, commercial traveller
Rowan Villa—Alex. M'Laren, goods clerk
John Blackie, clearing house inspector
Pitheavlis Bank—
James Y. Fairweather, accountant
Pickendullum Farm—Susan Campbell
Greybank—James Cuthbert, grocer
Lindenbank—John B. M'Cash, solicitor

STRATHEARN TERRACE—
7 Susan Campbell
6 William B. Deas, manufacturer
5 Catherine Chaplin
4 George F. K. Young, architect
3 Lothair Villa—Mary Johnman
2 Mrs William Campbell
1 Rev. Robert Oswald
Springbank—John M'Cash
Sydenham Villa—
Hugh Campbell, M.A., B.L., solicitor
John Scrimgeour, warehouse manager

BELHELVIE TERRACE—
11 Thomas Brown, clerk
10 Archibald Donaldson, boxmaker
9 William Mason, saddler
8 Peter Mason, saddler
7 Peter P. Dow, grocer
6 Alexander Gordon, railway conductor
5 Robert Dewer, builder
4 William King, grocer
3 Mrs Annie Hunter, stationer
2 James Langlands, joiner
1 James Skinner, ironmonger
GEORGE CRESCENT—
10 Alexander Scott, wool merchant
9 James Clacher, teacher
8 Alexander Thomson, grocer
7 James Anderson, retired
6 William Gourlay, commercial traveller
5 Mrs Dr. Nairne
4 James M'Farlane, cycle agent
3 Mrs William Laidlaw
2 Thomas Smith, spirit dealer
1 John Blair, railway conductor
Tullylumb—Thomas Jackson
George Sievwright, joiner and builder
Clifton—Donald M'Diarmid, grocer
Rosenberg—A. Douglas Lawrie, manager
Poorhouse—George B. Laird, governor
Mrs John Stewart, matron
James Cook, gardener
David Winton, porter
Needless Road here
John Dewar & Sons, Limited, distillers

N.B. MINERAL DEPOT—
Goods Offices—David Yule, agent
James Brown, carting agent
Alloa Coal Company Robt. Beveridge

Glover Street.

1 A. B. Rutherford, grocer
3 Peter Gordon, railway servant
7 David Stewart, cellarman
9 Mrs John Bruce, dressmaker
11 John Davie, railway clerk
13 Patrick M'Gregor, railway guard
15 Thomas Angus, fireman
17 William Martin, carrier
19 David Christie, surfaceman
21 John Stalker, builder
23 Peter Brown, grocer
25 John M'Intyre, retired
27 Thomas Cation, joiner
29 John Lindsay, railway inspector
31 John Cameron, railway guard
.. George Todd, porter
33 James Kinloch, railway inspector
35 John Downie, parcel porter
37 Peter Henry, railway porter
39 Thomas M'Cann, guard
41 Margaret Fraser
.. David Duncan, engine driver
.. Alexander Easson, railway guard
.. John Cruickshank, railway guard
43 Mrs Simpson Samson
.. Alexander G. Barry, cattle salesman
45 Thomas Todd, timekeeper
47 James Henderson, head porter
49 William Davidson, carriage inspector
51 James Macgregor, dyer
.. John G. Taylor, engineman
.. Walter M'Gregor, railway clerk
53 Archibald Cook, railway guard
55 Joseph Cameron, dyer
57 C. A. Rodgie, hairdresser
59 John M'Laren, engine driver
.. John Stewart, jobbing gardener
61 John Soutar, engine driver
63 Alexander Grant, railway guard
65 Peter Caw, painter
.. John Henderson, blacksmith
67 Mrs John Pitcaithly
69 John Murray, clerk
71 James Gray, fireman
.. William G. Gray, joiner
73 Bernard Waddell, coachbuilder
75 Hugh Blair, foreman dyer
77 Robert Stewart, coal merchant
.. Williamina Glass
.. Miss Robertson
79 Murdoch Cameron, railway guard
81 John Cameron, telegraph inspector
83 William M'Alpine, reliefman
.. William A. Robertson, cashier
.. William Galletly, railway inspector
85 George Ewen, bootmaker
.. Andrew Small, baker
.. David M'Rae, signalman
89 John Trail, engine driver
91 Alexander Hume Leuchars, mechanic
95 Andrew M'Kay, book agent
.. Charles Fairweather, coal merchant
97 John Campbell, joiner
Isla Bank Cottage—
Mrs Robert Ferguson
Mrs Thomas Patterson
John Campbell, joiner
Northern Central Mart—
John Swan & Sons, salesmen
William M'Cann, manager
Union Bank of Scotland (branch)
Needless—Mrs John Peat

GRAY STREET—
William Fenwick, warehouseman
Alexander Ross, foreman cooper
William Adams, railway policeman
John Houston, railway porter
George Calder, station policeman

BON-ACCORD TERRACE—
John M'Lean, clerk
66 John Phillips, railway guard
64 John Black, railway detective
62 William Fisher, signalman
60 John Simpson, wagon examiner
58 William Bryson dyer's finisher
.. Andrew Carscadden, dyer's labourer
56 William Mackie, signalman
54 Alexander Birrel, pointsman
52 John Boyd, railway porter
.. David Boyd, railway guard
50 Alexander Davie, dyer
.. Alexander Paterson, shunter
.. Mrs Alexander Stirton
.. Alexander Robertson, ironturner
48 Willliam M'Millan, engine driver
46 Mrs Martin
44 John H. Taylor, storekeeper
.. George Ross, guard
42 Peter Taylor, retired
.. John Paton, traveller
40 John Dow, railway weigher
38 Catherine Kelly
.. Andrew Batchelor, cloth inspector
36 Andrew Hill, fishmonger
34 Andrew Mason, guard
32 Charles Forbes, gasfitter
30 William Gillespie, engine fitter
28 William Scott, assistant N.B. agent
26 Robert M'Leish, engine driver
24 George Robertson, railway searcher
.. Stewart Strathdee, clerk
22 James Low, railway guard
.. Elizabeth Winterbottom
20 Mrs Helen Cooper, dairykeeper
.. John Wallace, inspector of buildings
18 Margaret M'Farlane, tobacconist
.. Mrs William Hood
.. James Mitchell, lorryman
16 Mrs William Fulton
.. William Webster, engine driver
14 James Rollo, blacksmith
.. Alexander Clark, miller
12 Mrs Robert Cameron
10 James Moncrieff, inkmaker
8 James Gall, joiner
6 David Stewart, water inspector
4 Wm. F. Eggo, fish and game dealer
2 John M'Lauchlan, railway servant
.. John Wishart, joiner
.. George K. Stirling, reliefman
.. J. Duncan, engine driver
.. Ann D. Thomson

High Street.

1 City Chamberlain's Office—R. Keay
3 City Clerk's Office
.. John Hill Thomas, solicitor
.. Duncan Cumming, sanitary inspector
.. George Fell and James Allan, officers
5 National Bank of Scotland (Limited)
5½ Peter M'Gregor, assistant bank agent
7 S. Stirton & Son, saddlers
9 Robert Carstairs, club steward
A. G. Chalmers, architect
.. Benjamin White, clerk
.. James S. Donald, watchmaker
.. Mrs Duncan M'Donald, charwoman
.. James Stirton, saddler
11 Thomson & Nicol, painters
11½ William Harley, fruiterer
George Street here
13 John Wood, baker
15 David Farquharson, tea merchant
17 Mrs William Stewart
.. James Mitchell, tinsmith
19 J. & D. Gowans, grocers
21 Thomas Harley, druggist
23 William Wallace, bootmaker
25 William Taylor, printer
.. John Guy, Old Ship Inn
.. Mrs Robert M. M'Pherson
.. Mrs Louis Stratz
Moir, Wood, & Rorie, accountants
14 Joseph Anderson, sports outfitter
12 C. Macmaster, grocer
12 Peter M'Naughton, labourer
.. Mrs Peter Bowie
.. Robert M'Millan, mason
Daintee Advertiser office
10½ Robert P. Jamieson, hairdresser
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.. John Mitchell, grocer's assistant
.. Archibald Meiklem, dyer's finisher
8 William K. Hamilton, tobacconist
8 David Smart, architect
6 Harry Christie, cycle manufacturer
.. Andrew A. Hutton, messenger-at-arms
.. James Hutton, messenger-at-arms
.. Robert Lawson, conchsmith
.. George Whitehall, town crier

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19 John Hood, bank messenger
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35 Patrick Kavanagh, general dealer
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41 John Armstrong, scavenger
.. Robert Duncan, labourer
.. David Armstrong, labourer
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.. David Sinclair, lorryman
16 Mrs William Fulton
.. William Webster, engine driver
14 James Rollo, blacksmith
.. Alexander Clark, miller
12 Mrs Robert Cameron
10 James Moncrieff, inkmaker
8 James Gall, joiner
6 David Stewart, water inspector
4 Wm. F. Eggo, fish and game dealer
2 John M'Lauchlan, railway servant
.. John Wishart, joiner
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.. J. Duncan, engine driver
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.. Ann D. Thomson

High Street—*continued.*

New Scott Street here
214 General Post Office
184 C. & M. Russell, fruiterers
182 Thomas Kennedy, accountant
William Clark, cabinetmaker
180 A. D. Johnman, corset manufacturer
178 Peter Dwker & Co., bookbinders
174 Mrs Alexander M'Kenzie, fish dealer
172 J. Crerar & Co., clothiers
170 James M'Donald, fireman
.. Thomas Brown, labourer
.. William Robertson, fisher
.. John Henderson, carter
.. David Honeyman, mason
.. Peter Lafferty, postman
.. James Watson, surfaceman
.. Patrick Dewars, labourer
.. James Welsh, labourer
.. Mrs Thomas Wilson
.. Thomas Dunnah, labourer
.. Mrs William Moffat
.. Mrs Patrick Coyne
.. Frank Stewart, plumber
.. Mrs Robert M'Lennan
.. Peter Fleming, hawker
.. Andrew Martin, labourer
.. John Armstrong, scavenger
.. Mrs James O'Brien
.. Mrs David Todd
.. Mrs Mark Bridget
.. John M'Omish, cycle manufacturer
.. Patrick Kerrigan, labourer
.. Geo. Thomson, picture frame maker
William Cochrane, labourer
William Rattray, labourer
Mrs John M'Donald
Laurence Kemp, weigher
David Crichton, mankeeper
168 Peter Miller, watchmaker
166 Peter Strang, druggist
Meal Vennel here
162 David Scringeour, grocer
160 A. Thomson Paterson, tobacco manfr.
158 William S. Knox, stationer
156 George Galloway, tailor
Alexander Wilson, porter
Grace Peterkin, dressmaker
Mrs Gregory Palmer
John Henderson, carver and gilder
Isabella Thomson
Mrs Patrick Cusack
Mrs Robert Cuaiter
Margaret Fyfe
163 Peter Thomson, cabinetmaker
John Masterton, hiringestablishment
John Kirkwood, moulder
James Fisher, grocer
Peter Hobbin, labourer
William Angus, tailor
Jane Craigie, dressmaker
David Sage, packer
George Thomas, engine fitter
James Duff, dyer's labourer
Mrs Betsy Welsh
165 J. & T. Currie, wine merchants
171 Daniel Reid, spirit dealer
173 John Black, umbrella maker
175 Robert Hempstead, warehouseman
Mrs John Roy
Alexander M'Kenzie, manager
John M'Laren, labourer
177 M'Vicar & Son, painters
179 S. Collier & Son, Ltd., bootmakers
181 James Paul, jeweller
Thomas A. Duncan, toy merchant
Peter M'Donald, tobacconist
Henry R. Stewart, hairdresser
Geo. Sime & Co., dentists
183 Maypole Dairy Co., Ltd.
185 Theatre
187 Mrs Stobie, poulterer, &c.
Cutlog Vennel here
189 James Douglas, clothier
193 William G. Stewart, grocer
195 Steel & Simpson, Ltd., bootmakers
Kinnoull Street here

High Street—*continued.*

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William Clark, cabinetmaker
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.. Peter Lafferty, postman
.. James Watson, surfaceman
.. Patrick Dewars, labourer
.. James Welsh, labourer
.. Mrs Thomas Wilson
.. Thomas Dunnah, labourer
.. Mrs William Moffat
.. Mrs Patrick Coyne
.. Frank Stewart, plumber
.. Mrs Robert M'Lennan
.. Peter Fleming, hawker
.. Andrew Martin, labourer
.. John Armstrong, scavenger
.. Mrs James O'Brien
.. Mrs David Todd
.. Mrs Mark Bridget
.. John M'Omish, cycle manufacturer
.. Patrick Kerrigan, labourer
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William Rattray, labourer
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160 A. Thomson Paterson, tobacco manfr.
158 William S. Knox, stationer
156 George Galloway, tailor
Alexander Wilson, porter
Grace Peterkin, dressmaker
Mrs Gregory Palmer
John Henderson, carver and gilder
Isabella Thomson
James M'Lean, labourer
Mrs John Pitcaithly
152 David Clark, baker
150 Jessie Henderson, confectioner
148 Charlotte Stewart, milliner
140 BLUE BELL CLOSE—
Thomas G. M'Callum, dyer's finisher
Edward Flood, labourer
Mrs John Coleman
Mrs Alexander Forbes
Henry Pye, compositor
Mrs George M'Pherson
James Simpson, surfaceman
Mrs James Wallace
Mary Ann Garvie
144 Andrew Mackay, shoemaker
140 David Paterson, vanman
Hugh M'Intosh, gardener
138 Alexander Stratton, confectioner
134 London and Newcastle Tea Company
132 John Black, umbrella maker
William Peddie, baker
Mrs Innes Christison, dressmaker
John Hutchison, scavenger
Ronald M'Donald, tailor
Emily M'Andrew, dressmaker
Henry Ross, packer
James Green, labourer
William Clark, cleaner
Mary Nelson
Stirton, insurance agent
130 James Pow, watchmaker
128 David Conacher, draper
126 John Ford, joiner
Thomas M'Lean, baker
Alfred Le Quest, french cleaner
David Smith, blocker
David M'Kellar, labourer
John Smith, baker
Andrew Adams, lifter
John Garvie, house decorator
Daniel Taylor, baker
John M'Gibbon, letter carrier
Timothy Gannon, labourer
J. Robertson, blacksmith
David Munro, brassfinisher
David Murray, porter
John M'Donald, mason
Thomas Bourke, joiner
Christina Scott
Mrs Michael Gavin
124 William Low & Co., grocers
122 James Honey, wholesale grocer
120 John M'Dougall, tarbuplitter
James Welsh, saddler
Alexander Hutchison, sand merchant
John M'Arthur, bobbin maker
Daniel Stewart, blacksmith
118 A. & J. Birrell, drapers
116 Mary M'Kenzie, hawker
William May, dyer
Edward Collins, pensioner
Alexander Balmain, labourer
William Anderson, labourer
William Dow, flesher
George Dobbie, blacksmith
Patrick Baker, labourer
John Campbell, labourer
Mrs John Thomson
James Duffy, labourer
George Malloch, labourer
Elizabeth Elder
John Barty, labourer
Fergus Finlay, shoemaker
James M'Cann, labourer
William Adams, railway shunter
Mrs Mary Coyne
John Murray, labourer
John Wallace, brassfounder
Patrick Hennachan, labourer
Andrew Martin, labourer
James Shaw, baker
James Malloch, labourer
112 Lipton, Limited, provision merchts.
110 R. & A. Wilson, bootmakers
108 John Smith, lodgings
John Bridges, seaman
John Calderwood, cork cutter
104 Thomas Crawford, butcher
102 Jane Ann Imrie, dressmaker
Mrs William Sime
Andrew Angus, mechanic
Mrs Peter Stewart, dressmaker
Mrs John Edwards
Mrs Charles Bryce
Mrs Janet Jones
Mrs John Mitchell
100 Charles Alexander, glazier
98 Alexander B. Young, ironmonger
96 Thomas Millar, tailor
Daniel Robertson, labourer
Mary M'Intyre
Richard C. Robertson, spirit dealer
Joseph B. Campbell, painter
David Wallace, hallkeeper
Mrs Robert Myles
94 David Robertson, newsagent
92 Amelia J. Heron
William Pearson, dyer
James M'Pherson, dyer's cleaner
90 James Tainsh, grocer
88 William Byars, clothier
86 Mrs William Eadie
James Robertson, engineman
James Rutherford, plumber
84 Mrs Jessie Cameron, tobacconist
82 G. Bayne & Son, watchmakers
80 KIRK CLOSE—
George Lindsay, postman
Robert Stewart, fishmonger
Perth Loan Company's office
Mrs Ann B. Mackie
Charles Davidson, french polisher
John Prentice, saddler
Adam Denham, plumber
78 John S. Dewar, hatter
74 Brady & Sons, auctioneers
68 Robert Swan, tailor
Charles H. Bryson, watchmaker
Mrs Ann Dewar
Archibald Lindsay, retired
66 R. & J. Dick, boot manufacturers
64 John A. Dunn, boot manufacturer
62 Catherine Robertson, milliner
60 Andrew Scott, fireman
J. S. Mowat, Albion Hotel
James Stewart, coachbuilder
National Telephone Company (Ltd.)
John Saunders, tinsmith
58 Dunsmore & Son, drapers
54 Mrs. Isabella Robertson
James Menzies, sewing machine agent
John Campbell, porter
Jane Adams
Mrs Ann Harris
William Watt, insurance agent
52 Wood & Son, booksellers & stationers
48 J. & D. Barlass, ironmongers
44 William S. Palmer, umbrella maker
42 Garvie & Syme, ironmongers
Kirkgate here
40 John Fraser, grocer
38 Mrs William Galloway
William Taylor, shopman
Andrew Moncrieff, accountant
36 G. & W. Howat, grocers
34 John Dewar, draper
32 Charles Parker, pork butcher
St. John Street here
32 M'Intyre & Stewart, bakers
30 Catherine Clark
Ellen Norwell, machinest
28 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
R. Croll, jeweller
.. John Scott, road surveyor
.. Joseph W. Aitken, horse dealer
.. Alexander M'Intyre, draper
26 James Scobie, Red Lion Inn
24 John Wood & Son, bootmakers
22 Robert Hay Robertson, grocer
Watergate here
20 James H. Jackson, stationer
18 John Macpherson, gas engineer
16 David David Bruce
Mrs Catherine Robertson
Moir, Wood, & Rorie, accountants
14 Joseph Anderson, sports outfitter
12 C. Macmaster, grocer
12 Peter M'Naughton, labourer
.. Mrs Peter Bowie
.. Robert M'Millan, mason
Daintee Advertiser office
10½ Robert P. Jamieson, hairdresser
10 Mrs William M'Donald
8 George Duncan, butcher
.. John Mitchell, grocer's assistant
.. Archibald Meiklem, dyer's finisher
8 William K. Hamilton, tobacconist
8 David Smart, architect
6 Harry Christie, cycle manufacturer
.. Andrew A. Hutton, messenger-at-arms
.. James Hutton, messenger-at-arms
.. Robert Lawson, conchsmith
.. George Whitehall, town crier

Skinnergate.

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11 John Gibbons, carter
.. John Graham, plasterer
.. Mrs James C. Rae
.. George Murdoch, tailor
.. William Kirk, labourer
.. James Finlayson, cleaner
13 James M'Laren, coal merchant
15 Mrs William Stewart, restaurateur
17 John Cadzow, dairyman
19 John Hood, bank messenger
25 Andrew Wards, spirit merchant
27 Wood & Son, printers
35 Patrick Kavanagh, general dealer
37 Peter M'Queen, licensed broker
41 John Armstrong, scavenger
.. Robert Duncan, labourer
.. David Armstrong, labourer
.. John Fraser, carter
.. David Sinclair, lorryman
16 Mrs William Fulton
.. William Webster, engine driver
14 James Rollo, blacksmith
.. Alexander Clark, miller
12 Mrs Robert Cameron
10 James Moncrieff, inkmaker
8 James Gall, joiner
6 David Stewart, water inspector
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2 John M'Lauchlan, railway servant
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11 Thomson & Nicol, painters
11½ William Harley, fruiterer
George Street here
13 John Wood, baker
15 David Farquharson, tea merchant
17 Mrs William Stewart
.. James Mitchell, tinsmith
19 J. & D. Gowans, grocers
21 Thomas Harley, druggist
23 William Wallace, bootmaker
25 William Taylor, printer
.. John Guy, Old Ship Inn
.. Mrs Robert M. M'Pherson
.. Mrs Louis Stratz

High Street—*continued.*

99 Miss Eliza M'Donald, confectioner
101 Mrs James Somerville
.. Janet Low, weaver
.. John Elder, french cleaner
.. John Livingstone, labourer
.. John Moffat, carter
.. Frank Simpson, tailor
.. James Shelmerdine, dyer
105 James Brow, spirit dealer
Guard Vennel here
107 Campbells, M'Lagan & Co., merchants
111 John Dewar & Sons, Ltd., distillers
113 Janet Nell, weaver
.. James Laing, butcher
.. Mrs Patrick M'Elroy
.. Mrs Alexander Finlayson
.. James M'Leod, brassfinisher
.. Mrs David Gall
.. George Bayne, jeweller
.. James Marshall, joiner
.. Margaret Kerr, washer
.. Mrs Alexander Menzies
.. George Wilson, leather merchant
Fanny Anderson, dressmaker
115 David Conacher, draper
117 William M'Cowan, Red Lion Inn
127 Thomas Taylor, butcher
129 BURT'S CLOSE—
Mrs Thomas Forsyth
James Taylor, brushmaker
Mrs Daniel M'Leish, dressmaker
John Robertson, blacksmith
Mrs David Brown
Mrs John Bonar
Jane M'Farlane, sick nurse
Thomas Stewart, labourer
Daniel Robertson, labourer
J. M'Gregor & Co., bookbinders
Archibald M'Intosh, labourer
Mrs Duncan M'Cowan, laundress
Barbara Walch, machinist
James M'Laren, blacksmith
M'Lauchlan & Co., rag merchants
Donald Dewar, slater
Mrs John M'Millan
Henry Nairn, painter
James Smith, porter
131 J. & H. Taylor, brushmakers
133 Alexander Laing, confectioner
135 James A. Christison, draper
137 David Kidd, clerk
.. Margaret Kethel, ironer
137 William Carr, dyer's finisher
.. Mrs James Scobie
.. James West, porter
.. John Jackson, bird dealer
.. Thomas Wynd, cooper
.. Malcolm Shaw, cycle repairing works
.. William Fraser, shuttlemaker
.. Joseph Bell
139 Alexander Wilson, fruiterer
141 J. Banks & Sons, ropesplinners
143 Mary Miller, milliner
146 Thomas Stewart, farm servant
.. Mrs David Taylor
.. Mrs Jane Gunn, weaver
.. Stewart & M'Farlane, joiners
147 Calderwood & Co., milliners
149 David Hynd, sawyer
.. David Sibley, lathsplitter
.. Robert Monig, labourer
Thomas Foy, dyer
151 Peter Winton, fence contractor
161 Nellie M'Donald
.. Grace Forbes
.. Mrs Robert Ower
.. William M'Farlane, painter
.. John Robertson, silk finisher
.. Valentine & Co., house agents
.. Robert Gorrie, cabinetmaker
.. Mrs Alexander Robertson, nurse
.. Mrs George Russell
.. Mrs James Blair
.. David Burns, agent
153 Andrew G. Cumming, stationer
155 John Gray & Co., shoemakers
159 John Duncan, draper
161 Margaret Ross, ladies' nurse

The patterns on this map are woven from the twin threads of 12th Century Burgh formation and the subsequent impact of 19th Century urban expansion. The origins of Perth lie in the creation of a royal burgh by David I and the settlement of merchants from England and the Low Countries in the planned urban area. A bridging-point site on the navigable Tay, a rich agricultural hinterland and trading privileges with Europe (mainly for the export of wool) combined to make Perth one of the most important centres in Scotland until the rise of industrial towns in the 1800's.

High Street and South Street represent the parallel backbone of the burgh, polarised on the waterfront and the site of the early burgesses wharves; the linear nature of the buildings running off these streets are a relict form of the original burgesses plots. South Methven

PERTH PARLIAMENTARY MUNICIPAL & POLICE BURGH

NORTH INCH Golf Course

RIVER TAY

FOURTH WARD

THIRD WARD

SECOND WARD

FIRST WARD

PERTH

SOUTH INCH

BRIDGEND

CRAIGIE

WELLSHILL CEMETERY

DOVECOT LAND

BARRACKS (Depôt of the 42nd. Regimental District Royal Highlanders)

Supposed Site of the Battle of the Clans Between Clan Chattan & Clan Kay (1396)

Monument (90th. Regiment Memorial)

Albert Monument

Perth Bridge

Tay Bridge

Pechney Industrial School (Deaf)

Auction Mart

Poorhouse

Pickletullum

Northern Central Auction Mart

Pithavlis Castle

St. Leonard's Bridge

Site of Cromwell's Citadel

Greyfriars Burial Ground

St. John the Baptists Church (Episcopal)

Perthshire Natural History Museum

Drill Hall

Pumping Station (Perth Water Works)

Filter Bed (Perth Water Works)

Allotment Gardens

Club House

Slaughterhouses

Hillside Home (Incurables)

Nurseries

Manse

Monk's Tower (Site of)

Friarton or Moncreiffe Island

Vennels Fishing Lodge

Station Hotel

General Railway Station

Middle U.F. Church

West U.F. Church

Victoria Buildings

County Buildings

Municipal Buildings

Educational Institution

Breweries

Gas Works

Waulkmill

Goodly Burn

Tullylumb

Pinefield

Rosemount

Potterhill

Greenbank

Rosebank

The Stormers

Viewfield House

Barnhill

Old Quarry

Gravel Pit

Bowling Greens

Tennis Courts

Pavilion

Crane

Timber Yard

Laundry

Seasoning Bath

Caledonian Bowling Green

Lodge

Engine House

Tank

Reservoir

Wind Mill

Water Mill

Sawmill

Foundry

Brewery

Stores

Offices

Warehouse

Coal Yard

Cattle Market

Slaughter House

Public Weighbridge

Public Urinal

Public Fountain

Gas Lamp

Sentry Box

Guard House

Mile Stone

Milestone

Boundary Stone

Telegraph Office

Telephone Exchange

Post Office

Police Station

Fire Station

Public Library

Museum

Reading Room

Baptist Chapel

Free Church

Episcopal Church

Roman Catholic Chapel

Grave Yard

Cemetery

Infirmary

Asylum

Hospital

Dispensary

Workhouse

Orphanage

Home

Institution

Convent

Monastery

Manse

Vicarage

Rectory

Presbytery

Public School

Private School

Academy

Seminary

Training College

Technical School

Science and Art School

Sunday School

Mission Room

Theatre

Concert Hall

Assembly Rooms

Public Hall

Corn Exchange

Market

Fish Market

Meat Market

Vegetable Market

Cattle Market

Auction Mart

Bank

Insurance Office

Solicitor

Architect

Surveyor

Engineer

Timber Merchant

Coal Merchant

Builder

Plumber

Painter

Glazier

Slater

Tinsmith

Blacksmith

Farrier

Wheelwright

Cartwright

Saddler

Harness Maker

Tailor

Draper

Clothier

Hatter

Hosier

Shoemaker

Boot and Shoe Maker

Grocer

Tea Dealer

Wine Merchant

Spirit Merchant

Licensed Grocer

Licensed Victualler

Hotel

Inn

Temperance Hotel

Restaurant

Refreshment Rooms

Confectioner

Baker

Butcher

Fishmonger

Poulterer

Fruiterer

Florist

Nurseryman

Seedsman

Chemist

Druggist

Dentist

Physician

Surgeon

Veterinary Surgeon

Photographer

Artist

Picture Dealer

Bookseller

Stationer

Printer

Publisher

Newspaper Office

Jeweller

Watchmaker

Silversmith

Electroplater

Optician

Pawnbroker

Ironmonger

Cutler

Gunsmith

Cycle Agent

Motor Car Agent

Carrier

Coachbuilder

Cabinetmaker

Upholsterer

Furniture Dealer

Carpet Dealer

Linoleum Dealer

Oilcloth Dealer

Curtain Dealer

Bedding Manufacturer

Mattress Maker

Basket Maker

Brush Maker

Broom Maker

Mat Maker

Rope Maker

Sail Maker

Tent Maker

Awning Maker

Flag Maker

Umbrella Maker

Parasol Maker

Fancy Goods Dealer

Toy Dealer

Hairdresser

Perfumer

Soap Maker

Candle Maker

Tallow Chandler

Oil Merchant

Colourman

Paint Manufacturer

Varnish Maker

Glass Merchant

Glass Cutter

Glass Stainer

Plumber, Painter & Glazier

Decorator

Paperhanger

Upholsterer & Decorator

Cabinetmaker & Upholsterer

Cabinetmaker & Undertaker

Undertaker

Monumental Mason

Stonemason

Bricklayer

Builder & Contractor

Builder & Timber Merchant

Builder & Slater

Builder & Plumber

Builder & Painter

Builder & Joiner

Joiner & Cabinetmaker

Joiner & Undertaker

Joiner & Builder

Joiner & Wheelwright

Joiner & Coachbuilder

Joiner & Shopfitter

Joiner & Sawmiller

Joiner & Turner

Joiner & Carver

Joiner & Gilder

Joiner & Glazier

Joiner & Painter

Joiner & Decorator

Joiner & Upholsterer

Joiner & Undertaker

Joiner & Builder

Joiner & Contractor

Joiner & Timber Merchant

Joiner & Slater

Joiner & Plumber

Joiner & Painter

Joiner & Glazier